

Studies IN PROGRESS OR RECENTLY COMPLETED

ARMS CONTROL *and*
DISARMAMENT



COMPILED FOR THE UNITED STATES
ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT
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STAFF

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BUREAU OF
INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

Introduction

This is the first in a series of semiannual reports to be prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency by the External Research Staff of the Department of State. The series is intended to acquaint Arms Control and Disarmament Agency officials, and interested officers of other U.S. Government departments and agencies, with basic information about research currently being done under private auspices (by research organizations, university research groups, and individual scholars) in the field of arms control and disarmament. This report cites studies in progress or completed since January 1962.

The studies in the list have been entered under twenty-three categories, and those that pertain to more than one category appear under all relevant categories. A university affiliation or private address is given in parentheses after each author's name. Uncertainty about a study's estimated completion date (ECD) is indicated by the word "unknown." Annotations have been submitted by the authors or prepared by the External Research Staff. The Department of State is not responsible for the opinions expressed in the annotations, nor do they necessarily reflect Department policy. Scholars and research groups are invited to submit information on their research for inclusion in future lists to the External Research Staff, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

The Staff also prepares the External Research Lists, describing research in the social and behavioral sciences concerned with foreign areas and international affairs. These lists are published in the following series:

USSR and Eastern Europe	Middle East
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Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific	American Republics
South Asia	Great Britain and Canada
Western Europe	International Affairs

Political Behavior

TABLE OF CONTENTS	
Approaches and Proposals: Arms Control and Disarmament	1
Arms Control and Disarmament Negotiations	9
Communist China	13
Conflict Resolution	14
Cultural and Ethical Aspects	19
Detection, Inspection, and Verification	21
Economic Aspects	23
Foreign Policy (United States)	25
History	28
International Law	31
International Organization	33
International Police Force	36
Military Strategy (United States)	37
Nth Country Problem	44
Nuclear Test-Ban Negotiations	44
Peace Research	45
Political Context (United States)	49
Regional Aspects	
General	50
Africa	51
Asia	51
Latin America	51
Middle East	51
North America	52
Western Europe	52
Science and Technology	52
Social Aspects	55
Soviet Bloc: Foreign Policy, Military Strategy and Disarmament	56
Space: Strategic and Legal Aspects	59
Theories of War	60

In Progress

Cory, Robert H. (Denison University) Inspection as a System of Control: Applications of National Experience to International Situations (Research, ECD-Unknown)

Feld, Bernard T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Prospects for a Meaningful First-stage Disarmament Agreement (Paper, ECD-1963). An analysis of the current strategic East-West balance; also a review of positions in past disarmament negotiations and forces relating to future ones.

Glick, Edward B. (System Development Corporation, Washington, D.C.) Regional Arms Control in Latin America (Research, ECD-Unknown)

Kelly, George A. (Harvard University) An Experiment in Limitation and Control: Non-intervention and Naval Inspection in the Spanish Civil War (Article, ECD-1963). An examination of the powers, activity and scope of the multilateral arrangements for control and limitation during the Spanish civil war to: (1) assess the caliber of multilateral but non-international conventions; (2) examine a situation in which ideologically hostile powers participated; (3) evaluate the efficacy, inadequacy, use and misuse of the agreements; and (4) judge the aspect of "mutual benefit" in the light of events.

Myers, Frank. The "Ban-the-Bomb" Campaign in Britain: Its History and Political Impact (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-Unknown)

Nogee, Joseph L. (University of Houston) Propaganda and Negotiation: The Case of the Ten Nation Committee (Article, ECD-1963). To be published jointly by the Journal of Conflict Resolution and the Journal of Arms Control.

Sokol, Anthony E. (Stanford University) Problems of Disarmament (Book, ECD-Unknown). Discusses the probable effect of any kind of disarmament on international tensions, the economic situation, and national security. Also considers what kind of disarmament is needed, what kind is feasible, and what might be a promising approach to the problem at this time.

Completed

Abt, Clark C. (Raytheon Company) Disarmament Appraised as a Strategy (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Abt, Clark C., Morton Gorden, Vahagn Dadrian and Edward Gude (Raytheon Company) The European Arms Control Environment (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). Describes the major European arms control and deterrent, and alternative defense postures; also suggests some changes that would improve defensive capability without increasing the risk of war or an arms race. The question of U.S. nuclear sharing with allies is examined. A preliminary discussion of means by which NATO might integrate both national and multilateral nuclear forces is given.

Abt, Clark C. (Raytheon Company) The Problems and Possibilities of Space Arms Control (Article, *Journal of Arms Control*, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1963). Discusses the relation between the development of space weapons and the requirements for including them under an arms control agreement, with reference to the usefulness of such weapons under varying strategies and the problems involved in subjecting these weapons to international control.

Abt, Clark C., Thomas O'Sullivan, Melvin M. Kessler and Vahakn Dadrian (Raytheon Company) Theoretical Aspects of Unilateral Arms Control (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). Analyzes some of the underlying theoretical problems of arms control doctrine, including assumptions about the nature of military and international conflict. Makes clear operational distinctions between intrinsic and reciprocal unilateral arms control; describes how and why wars began in recent history and extrapolates therefrom; outlines theory of alliance formation, and the significance of alliances for war initiation, escalation, and termination. Discusses future problem areas.

Bethe, Hans A. (Cornell University) Disarmament and Strategy (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1962). Explores the difficulties which exist in connection with the "Balance of Terror," counter-force and instability, stable deterrent, the test ban, arms reduction, and other problems that must be solved before disarmament can be general and complete. Agreement on all these matters is not a prerequisite for stopping the arms race. There are ways to do this, which will not endanger, but actually increase the security of the United States.

Bethe, Hans A., Douglas F. Dowd, Walter F. Lafeber, Mario Einaudi, Philip Morrison and Jay Orear (Cornell University) Problems of Disarmament (Book, Monthly Review Press, 1962). A series of articles dealing with disarmament by faculty members of the Departments of History, Government, and Physics, at Cornell University.

Bondurant, Joan (University of California, Berkeley) Is There Another Dimension to Arms Control? (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Clark, John S. (St. John's University) Anglo-German Naval Negotiations, 1898-1914 and 1933-1938: A Study in Arms Control (Article, 1963). The history of the Anglo-German naval negotiations is presented in the hope that those treating similar problems of arms control and disarmament in the 1960's may derive some benefit from past experience.

Clemens, Walter C., Jr. (University of California, Santa Barbara) Lenin on Disarmament (Paper, Far Western Slavic Conference, Seattle, Washington, April 1962). Puts forth the thesis that Lenin's position on disarmament before and after the Bolshevik Revolution was not contradictory, but entirely consonant with a standard laid down by him in 1916. The author suggests that the primary motive of Soviet disarmament propaganda has been political: to keep the capitalist world divided and off balance, while demonstrating to the masses the impossibility of disarmament under capitalism and, consequently the need for a communist revolution.

Davis, Harold E. (American University) Disarmament in a House Divided (Article, World Affairs, Vol. 125, No. 3, Fall 1962). An argument in favor of disarmament and peaceful coexistence. "To be reasonable, disarmament must provide a broader basis of power in a more general moral consensus."

Davis, Robert H. (System Development Corporation) Arms Control Gaming: The Search for Meaningful Experimental Methodology (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Dougherty, James E. (St. Joseph's College) The Disarmament Debate: A Review of Current Literature (Article, Orbis, Part II, Winter 1962). Continuation of an article dealing with the literature on the technical problems of inspection of disarmament. Part II is focused on arms control and "stable deterrence."

Etzioni, Amitai (Columbia University) The Gradualist Way to Peace (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). An analysis of the sociological and political principles that underlie the platform of the American Faculty Council for the Gradualist Way to Peace.

Etzioni, Amitai (Columbia University) The Hard Way to Peace: A New Strategy (Book, Collier Books, 1962). Discusses the sources of the Cold War, the arms race, unilateral and multilateral disarmament, the "balance of terror," deterrence policy, etc. Suggests gradualism, combined with an effectively safeguarded arms reduction system, as the most effective approach to peace.

Feld, Bernard T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Atmospheric Testing (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, January 1962). Warns against the danger of the U.S. losing sight of the main issues because of an emotional reaction to the cynicism of the USSR's unilateral abrogation of the unofficial "moratorium" on nuclear weapons tests. Examines the reasons why the U.S. was willing to adhere to a voluntary, uninspected moratorium during three years of frustrating negotiations and argues that the U.S. was the first to announce that it no longer felt bound by the moratorium. Claims that the U.S. would gain from a mutual moratorium on the development of defensive, giant-size nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union could then carry out atmospheric tests only at the expense of abrogating the treaty.

Ferguson, Allen R. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Disarmament and Deterrence (Pamphlet, RAND Corporation, April 1962). Brings up some of the questions relevant to disarmament and suggests some avenues for discussion and serious future work. Conflicts within the Eastern and Western groups, the emergence of new states, the existence of nuclear weapons, important as they are, are not the central source of danger. The dominant aspect of East-West relations is the conflict of political objectives between the Soviet Bloc and the democracies. The danger is that general nuclear war will result as a consequence of this grave conflict of political interests backed by devastating power.

Finkelstein, Lawrence S. (Harvard University) Defense, Disarmament, and World Order (Article, Behind the Headlines, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, September 1962)

Finkelstein, Lawrence S. (Harvard University) Reciprocal Inspection (Article, 1962)

Finkelstein, Lawrence S. (Harvard University) The United Nations and Organization for the Control of Armaments (Article, International Organization, Winter 1962). Examines the assertion that it is desirable to associate the U.N. intimately with arrangements for the control and limitation of armaments. Holds that the relationship question is essentially irrelevant to the central disarmament issues, but may be relevant with respect to some marginal tactical matters.

Fletcher, Verne H. (United Church of Christ) What Chance for Peace (Article, Christian Century, July 25, 1962). Ridicules the principle that the best chance for peace in the present historical circumstances lies in a policy of massive preparation for war. Suggests that in the rivalry of the two "young, expanding, powerful" nations, priority be given to socio-economic competition. Concludes that such a move, together with a policy of persistent negotiation and progressive disarmament, would offer the greatest chance for peace in the remainder of the present century.

Forbes, Henry W. (George Washington University) The Strategy of Disarmament (Book, Public Affairs Press, 1962). A detailed discussion of disarmament negotiations, and an over-all survey of recent disarmament trends. Does not enter into the problem of relaxing tensions or improving international organization, but limits discussion to proposals that do not require a "drastic change of the world order." Points out that so long as there is not "drastic change" and international relations continue to rest on an unstable balance of military power among conflicting states, neither "quantitative" nor "qualitative" disarmament agreements are likely.

Foster, Richard B. (Stanford Research Institute) Unilateral Arms Control Measures and Disarmament Negotiations (Article, Orbis, Summer 1962). Asserts that bargaining in a situation of conflict is a dangerous exercise, particularly since the objective of Soviet negotiations is to gain advantage over an opponent. Almost every possible unilateral restraint involves serious risks. Despite this the U.S. must explore the opportunities and pitfalls of unilateral arms control.

Frisch, D.H. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) A Proposal for an African and Near Eastern Zone Free from Weapons of Mass Destruction (Article, Journal of Arms Control, 1963).

George, James B. (Raytheon Company) U.S. Overseas Bases in a Changing Strategic Environment (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). Examines military, political and economic utilities associated with fixed overseas bases in fourteen environmental contexts, and compares them with the utilities of four other types of bases in the same contexts. Areas available for U.S. unilateral arms control actions regarding overseas bases, as constrained by legal, political, and military-security factors are then defined, and some potential uses of the criteria developed in the study are given.

Goldwin, Robert A. (University of Chicago) America Armed (Book, Rand McNally, 1963). A selection of essays intended to provide clarification and guidance in the national policy debate over military power, disarmament and arms control.

Gude, Edward W., Davis Bobrow, and Clark C. Abt (Raytheon Company) Arms Control in the Development Countries (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). A study of the application of arms control measures to the developing countries including the development of a crude quantitative construct for evaluating the impact of various arms control and foreign aid measures. Also discussed is a framework for analyzing the role of the military in developing countries. Two supplementary papers deal with the limits of civic action and the arms control environment of Southeast Asia.

Halle, Louis J. (Graduate Institute of International Affairs, Geneva, Switzerland) Animal Instinct and Pacifism (Article, New Republic, June 4, 1962). Claims that under natural conditions, vertebrates of the same species, although they fight regularly, never kill each other or do each other serious injury. Those that have absolute weapons, like the rattlesnakes, confine their fighting within ritualistic limits. Our behavior in the brief period since we acquired such weapons has resembled that of the rattlesnakes. The present arms race will come to an end gradually as the issues between the West and the Soviet Union become less pressing, and as the mounting cost of the arms race on national resources becomes increasingly burdensome.

Halle, Louis J. (Graduate Institute of International Affairs, Geneva, Switzerland) Is War Obsolete? The Inhibiting Effect of Absolute Weapons (Article, New Republic, April 2, 1962). The atom has contributed to the maintenance of an essential order in international affairs by deterring the resort to major warfare. While all-out conflict may be consonant with limited weapons, absolute weapons require that conflict be limited.

Halperin, Morton H. (Harvard University) Arms Control and Inadvertent General War (Article, 1962)

Halperin, Morton H. (Harvard University) Meaning of Arms Control (Article, National Defense, Tokyo, February 1962)

Hockin, Thomas (Harvard University) Arms Control (Paper, 1962)

Hsieh, Alice L. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Communist China's Strategy in the Nuclear Era (Book, Prentice-Hall, 1962). An examination of Communist China's pattern of behavior in a nuclear environment. The official position of the Red Chinese on proposals for an atom-free zone in the Far East and the Pacific is ambivalent; the Chinese being unwilling to commit themselves unconditionally to restrictions on nuclear weapons.

Huddle, Franklin P. (Hughes Research Laboratories, Malibu, California) Military Aspects of Independent Initiative in Arms Control (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962). The Soviets accept our messages of tension reduction as an invitation to step up their own efforts to encourage and support "wars of national liberation." The author proposes a program of military initiatives concerned with the preservation of a stable, restrained, deliberate, flexibly organized system of deterrence; blunting by peaceful means, but with force available if needed, the Soviet program of systematic subversion.

Hunter, Holland (Haverford College) The Control of Unknown Arms (Book, University of Michigan Press, 1963). The USSR may be willing to reduce its arms but without a comparable willingness to dismantle its secrecy; several guidelines are suggested for arms reduction under conditions of limited disclosure.

Inglis, David R. (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois) Evolving Patterns of Nuclear Disarmament Proposals (Article, Centennial Review, Vol. VI, 1962)

Inglis, David R., et al (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois) A Specific Proposal for Balanced Disarmament and Atomic Control (Article, Centennial Review, Vol. VI, 1962)

Lawrence, Robert M. The Political Realities of Disarmament (Ph.D., University of Kansas, 1962)

Lefever, Ernest W., ed. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) Arms and Arms Control (Book, Praeger, 1962). A symposium designed to provide a balanced presentation of some recent writings on the subject of arms control; the contributors being established scholars in the field. A selected bibliography of materials on arms control is appended.

Levine, Robert A. (Harvard University) Disarmament and Arms Control (Article, New Leader, February 1962)

Masserman, Jules H. (Northwestern University) If Tomorrow Comes... (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Proposes sending to Russia large numbers of American students and inviting the Soviet Union to assign similar numbers of Communist students, to live in American homes and attend U.S. schools for a year or two, to promote mutual understanding. Each group would at the same time serve as a hostage to prevent nuclear destruction.

Merton, Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
(Honorary of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Breakthrough to
Peace (Book, New Directions Paperbooks, 1962). A collection of essays
dealing with the threat of thermonuclear extermination and the measures
necessary to combat it. The solutions offered by the authors are of
a radical nature, going beyond proposed measures for arms control and
calling for complete and general disarmament.

Millis, Walter (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa
Barbara, California) The Abolition of War (Book, 1962)

Morton, Louis and Gene M. Lyons (Dartmouth College) The Intellectual
Response to the Cold War (Book, 1963). An analysis of the peace
movement.

Newman, James R. The Rule of Folly (Book, Simon and Schuster, 1962). A
collection of articles, published in the period 1954-1962, dealing with
the threat of a catastrophic nuclear war.

Orear, Jay (Cornell University) Safeguarded Zonal Disarmament (Article,
Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, February 1963). Article describes a
specific example of zone by zone disarmament and inspection. Safeguards
against cheating on the last zone are presented.

Osgood, Charles E. (University of Illinois) An Alternative to War or
Surrender (Book, University of Illinois Press, 1962). Provides for a
"peace offensive" designed to invite reciprocation from the Communist
bloc. Program would create an atmosphere of mutual trust, within which
negotiations on critical political and military issues will have a
better chance of succeeding. The plan is based upon the assumption that
the Soviet people and their leaders also desire peace.

Phelps, John (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) et al.
Information and Arms Control (Research, 1963). An investigation of the
information requirements of various arms control measures, both
unilateral and negotiated, in relation to the types and varieties of
information which may exist in addition to ad hoc inspection. A major
part of the work is concerned with observation satellites for arms
control, although some incidental work on accidental war and unilateral
arms control is also included.

Phelps, John (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) Military
Stability and Arms Control: A Critical Survey (Report, 1962).
Prepared under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval, Ordnance
Test Station, China Lake, California. Analyzes the dependence of
strategic stability on weapons, questions the usefulness of stability
as an analytic tool in considering and evaluating measures to enhance
military security, and examines the trend toward relative strategic
stability for the period 1965-1970.

Deterrence (Article, Current History, May 1962). Deterrence in itself is pointless and dangerous. Deterrence must form a consistent part of a reasoned over-all plan of political evolution for the U.S., its opponents, and the world at large. Other parts of the same plan may involve unilateral cessation of the arms race (but not disarmament), provision of adequate limited war forces within the ethos of a commensurate-response conditioning program for the opponent, renunciation of the "defended posture" and the "counterforce mission."

Roberts, Richard B. (Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, D.C.) Arms, Arms Control and Foreign Policy (Article, 1963). An analysis of arms control as a method of reducing armaments to the minimum needed for the conduct of foreign policy.

Rock, Vincent P. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) The United States and the Soviet Union--An Approach to the Control of Conflict (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Suggests a strategy designed to create a web of interdependence between the U.S. and the Soviet Union sufficient to insure restraint and open the path to a growing sense of a community of interests.

Schelling, Thomas C. (Harvard University) The Role of Deterrence in Total Disarmament (Article, Foreign Affairs, April 1962). Success of arms control and disarmament depends on mutual deterrence. "Disarmament" did not preclude U.S. participation in World War III, it just slowed it down. War will have to be made unprofitable, it cannot be made impossible.

Shulman, Marshall D. (Harvard University) Russia's Gambit on Disarmament (Article, New York Times Magazine, March 11, 1962). To follow the moves and counter-moves at Geneva, it is necessary to understand the role that arms play in the over-all Soviet strategy. Just as "the struggle for peace" in Soviet internal usage signifies the use of the "peace" issue as a weapon in the political struggle with the West, so must the slogan "general and complete disarmament" be understood as a political instrument.

Sibley, Mulford Q. (University of Minnesota) Unilateral Initiatives and Disarmament (Pamphlet, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, 1962)

Smith, Alice K. (Radcliffe College) American Scientists and International Control of Atomic Energy--1945 to 1946 (Paper, Atomic Energy Commission, November 1962). A discussion of the efforts of American scientists to achieve some form of international control of atomic energy during the initial months of the nuclear era.

Sohn, Louis B. (Harvard University) A Way to Disarmament (Article, New Republic, February 23, 1963). The author advocates "first strike through disarmament" as the best strategic policy. The Soviet Union having accepted verification of the destruction of weapons, the only question seems to be what kind of an exchange ratio would be acceptable. The destruction of some 1800 Soviet delivery vehicles at a cost of 2400 U.S. vehicles might make an excellent bargain.

Sohn, Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3:
Variations on a Theme (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1962). No nation should reject the opportunity for exploring further the possibilities for progressive zonal disarmament and inspection until a better way is found to deal with the complex problem of the link between disarmament and inspection. A study of zonal disarmament and inspection on an intergovernmental level might lead to new proposals; however, what matters is that the two sides should approach the problem in a spirit of mutual understanding of their respective preoccupations and anxieties. Once that spirit manifests itself, the technical solution will not be far behind.

Spingarn, Jerome H. (U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) New Approaches to Disarmament (Pamphlet, Foreign Policy Association, 1962). An "overview" of current Western thinking in the field of arms control, with primary emphasis placed on the Nth country problem. The greatest significance of this problem is the sense of urgency which it lends to the search for an early agreement on arms limitation or disarmament. As nuclear know-how spreads, and as arsenals of existing nuclear weapons and delivery systems are refined to further levels of terror, the workability of arms control and inspection fades. The spread of nuclear weapons could be a destabilizing factor which would increase the danger of war and decrease the likelihood of arms control.

Teller, Edward and Allen Brown. The Legacy of Hiroshima (Book, Doubleday and Company, 1962). The concept of all-out war as a cataclysm is false. World War III will not destroy mankind, but the U.S. could be destroyed if it is not prepared. In a dangerous world the U.S. cannot have peace unless it is strong.

Wadsworth, James J. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) The Price of Peace (Book, Praeger, 1962)

Wildavsky, Aaron B. (Oberlin College) Nuclear Clubs or Nuclear Wars (Article, Yale Review, March 1962). The policy of the U.S. should be to give assistance or approval to selected small nations who wish to acquire atomic weapons. It is worth risking an increase in the probability of atomic accident, if by doing so the U.S. gains a decrease in the probability of total war. It is worth enduring occasional difficulties from nations whose bargaining power has been increased through the possession of atomic weapons, if the U.S. can also increase the probability that they will maintain their independence.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

In Progress

Feld, Bernard T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Prospects for a Meaningful First-stage Disarmament Agreement (Paper, ECD-1963). An analysis of the current strategic East-West balance; also a review of positions in past disarmament negotiations and forces relating to future ones.

Jacobson, Harold K. (University of Michigan) and Eric Stein. The Test Ban Negotiations: A Case Study in the Interaction of Science and Diplomacy (Research, ECD-Unknown)

Nogee, Joseph ~~Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3~~
Case of the Ten Nation Committee (Article, ECD-1963). To be published jointly by the Journal of Conflict Resolution and the Journal of Arms Control.

Nogee, Joseph L. (University of Houston) The Role of Neutrals and Third Parties in Negotiations Between East and West of Cold War Issues in the United Nations (Book, ECD-Unknown)

Zoppo, Ciro E. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) The Test Ban Conference: A Study in Arms Control Negotiation (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-1964)

Completed

Batten, James K. (Princeton University) Arms Control and the Problem of Evasion (Monograph, Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1962). Contends that distrust, compounded by fear, constitutes the motive force behind the arms race. East-West negotiations inevitably are permeated by the same distrust. The Soviet Union's optimal policy is to negotiate an arms control agreement which, if complied with by the West, and effectively violated by the Soviets, could decisively shift the strategic balance in Moscow's favor. It cannot be assumed that a system of inspection and sanctions, once agreed upon, will necessarily deter clandestine violations. For the aggressive evader pell-mell disarmament would present a golden opportunity. For the nonaggressive nation it might provoke fears arguing for defensive evasion.

Bethe, Hans A., Douglas F. Dowd, Walter F. Lafeber, Mario Einaudi, Philip Morrison and Jay Orear (Cornell University) Problems of Disarmament (Book, Monthly Review Press, 1962). A series of interrelated articles dealing with disarmament written by faculty members of the Departments of History, Government, and Physics, at Cornell University.

Calvocoressi, Peter (Institute of Strategic Studies) Studies in International Security: World Order and New States, Problems of Keeping the Peace (Book, Praeger, 1962). A study of world stability created by the rise of many new sovereign states at a time when the great powers have lost their old freedom of action against the spread of disorder. The "major powers now have great armaments, but they think in terms of deterrence rather than employment."

Clark, John J. (St. John's University) Anglo-German Naval Negotiations, 1898-1914 and 1933-1938: A Study in Arms Control (Article, 1963). The history of the Anglo-German naval negotiations is presented in the hope that those dealing with similar problems of arms control and disarmament in the 1960's may derive some benefit from past experience.

Cory, Robert (United Nations) Images of U.S. Disarmament Policy in the International Negotiating System (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Davy, Grant R. Canada's Role in the Disarmament Negotiations, 1946-1957 (Ph.D., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1962)

Dougherty, James E. (St. Joseph's College) The Disarmament Debate: A Review of Current Literature (Book, Part II, Winter 1962). Continuation of an article dealing with the literature on the technical problems of inspection of disarmament. Part II is focused on arms control and "stable deterrence."

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Forbes, Henry W. (George Washington University) The Strategy of Disarmament (Book, Public Affairs Press, 1962). A detailed discussion of disarmament negotiations, and an over-all survey of recent disarmament trends. Does not enter into the problem of relaxing tensions or improving international organization, but limits discussion to proposals that do not require a "drastic change of the world order." Points out that so long as there is not "drastic change" and international relations continue to rest on an unstable balance of military power among conflicting states, neither "quantitative" nor "qualitative" disarmament agreements are likely.

Foster, Richard B. (Stanford Research Institute) Unilateral Arms Control Measures and Disarmament Negotiations (Article, Orbis, Summer 1962). Asserts that bargaining in a situation of conflict is a dangerous exercise, particularly since the objective of Soviet negotiations is to gain advantage over an opponent. Almost every possible unilateral restraint involves serious risks. Despite this the U.S. must explore the opportunities and pitfalls of unilateral arms control.

Goldman, Ralph (San Francisco State College) Internationalizing Domestic Politics: An Aspect of Arms Control Negotiations (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Heinricks, W.H., Jr. (Johns Hopkins University) American Arms Policy: Hiroshima to the Lucky Dragon (Book, Houghton Mifflin, 1963). A study of the security factors leading to a rigid negotiating position on arms control with particular emphasis on the Baruch Plan.

Hicks, Bruce L. (University of Illinois) Education via Dialogues - Its Application to Arms Control Studies and Teaching (Report, Coordinated Science Laboratory, University of Illinois, 1962). A preliminary study of the use of tape recording of dialogues in connection with information transmittal.

Inglis, David R. (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois) Evolving Patterns of Nuclear Disarmament Proposals (Article, Centennial Review, Vol. VI, 1962)

Jensen, Lloyd. The Disarmament Negotiations: A Study in American-Soviet Behavior (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1962)

Jensen, Lloyd (University of Illinois) and Joseph Nogee (University of Houston) Soviet-American Bargaining Behavior (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Kalkstein, Marvin (Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories, Bedford, Massachusetts) Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Article, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, 1963). The Nth country problem is serious, but not as immediate or great as is often contended. It may offer impetus toward getting disarmament measures.

Lefever, Ernest W., ed. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.)
Arms Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
A symposium designed to provide a balanced presentation of some of the recent writing on the subject of arms control; the contributors being established scholars in the field. A selected bibliography of materials on arms control is also appended.

Levine, Robert A. (Harvard University) Arms Agreements, a Model of Stalemate (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, December 1962). An analysis of the reasons for the failure of the East and West to arrive at an arms agreement.

Levine, Robert A. (Harvard University) Breaking the Arms Stalemate (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, June 1962). An analysis of the stalemate in arms negotiations. Suggests some directions in which the United States policy might move in order to obtain future reconciliation. The most important step to take now to bring about ultimate agreement is to strengthen U.S. military forces to the extent necessary to convince the Soviet Union that the use of threat will not succeed.

Marshall, Charles B. (Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research) Hide and Seek: Some Dour Thoughts on Inspection (Article, New Republic, November 24, 1962). An uninspected arms control compact appears to be impossible for the calculable future. The outlook is poor--indefinite impasse on formal terms, with abatement of the problem restricted to unilateral steps and informal and tacit agreements, with or without more such crises as the one over Cuba. Armaments might conceivably have been tethered without all the paraphernalia of inspection, but this hypothesis is based on fantastic rather than realistic imagination.

Nanes, Allan S. (Library of Congress) Disarmament: The Last Seven Years (Article, Current History, May 1962). The disarmament discussions since 1955 have been a failure primarily because they have erroneously focused on the problem of inspection and control rather than on the more pertinent problem of devising methods to prevent the use of atomic weapons in a sudden attack. At present, the prospects for any sort of agreement are dim. However, there is some hope in the growing public consciousness of the destructive character of modern weapons. That consciousness is nagging at the conscience of governments.

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, New York. Disarmament at the UN; Geneva Disarmament Conference (Memoranda, National Sane, 1963). A discussion of the progress and dynamics of the disarmament and test-ban debate at the U.N. General Assembly and the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Phelps, John B. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) Information and Arms Control (Article, Journal of Arms Control, January 1963). Arms control planning is considered from the standpoint of the type and quantity of information which passes between the nations involved. The most fundamental difficulty in disarmament negotiations has been "a sharp asymmetry of circumstances and views on arms information and inspection."

Singer, Eugene. A Bargaining Model for Disarmament Negotiations (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. VII, 1963)

Spanier, John W. (University of Florida) and Joseph I. Nosek (University of Houston) ~~Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3~~ The Politics of Disarmament: A Study in Soviet-American Gamesmanship (Book, Praeger, 1962). Analyzes the role of the American-Soviet disarmament negotiations in the diplomacy of the Cold War. The authors examine the tactics and political objectives of both contenders, viewing the disarmament negotiations as a complex part of the over-all struggle for power.

Van Atta, Lester C. (Lockheed Missiles and Space Company) Arms Control: Human Control (Article, American Psychology, January 1963). The U.S. is overly preoccupied with military solutions to international problems and with hardware. Total security effort must consider the emotional aspects of the arms race. Formal negotiations will yield small promise until better communication and understanding have been established through a program of carefully planned action designed to control tension and convey our intentions.

COMMUNIST CHINA

Completed

Hsieh, Alice L. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Communist China's Strategy in the Nuclear Era (Book, Prentice-Hall, 1962). An examination of Communist China's pattern of behavior in a nuclear environment. The official position of the Red Chinese on proposals for an atom-free zone in the Far East and the Pacific is ambivalent; the Chinese being unwilling to commit themselves unconditionally to restrictions on nuclear weapons.

North, Robert and Jan Triska (Stanford University) USSR-Chinese Relations: Cohesive and Conflictual Aspects (Report, March 1962). Prepared under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. To be published as part of the "Studies in Deterrence" series. Investigates the perceptual filters of the Soviet and Chinese Communist decision-makers through the collection and analysis of their statements of what they perceive.

Zaninovich, M. George (Stanford University) The Sino-Soviet Theory of Conflict (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). A survey of Communist theoretical writings. Draws the conclusion that Soviet thinkers view contradictions within the world environment as neither so prevalent nor so intense as do Chinese theorists.

In Progress

Bass, Bernard M. (University of Pittsburgh) Studies in Interorganizational Conflict Resolution (Article, ECD-1963). Subjects: 64 graduate students of business; Method: simulated labor-management collective bargaining; 32 pairs of negotiators bargaining on nine issues. Prebargaining treatments: (1) joint study groups; (2) unilateral study groups; and (3) strategy planning groups. Outcomes: Strategy groups produce deadlocks in subsequent bargaining; greatly increase cost and length of negotiations compared to study groups.

Crain, Clark N. (University of Denver) Some Alternatives to War (Paper, ECD-1963). Holds that if as much money and effort could be made available for this approach as there is available to study ways of making war, some progress might be expected.

North, Robert C. (Stanford University) Studies in International Conflict and Integration (Research, ECD-Unknown). Consists of interdisciplinary research and training in factors associated with the outbreak of war and the escalation of small wars into large wars. The studies are also concerned with the identification of alternatives to war.

Pruitt, Dean G. (University of Delaware) Studies of Intergroup Negotiation (Research, ECD-Unknown). An ongoing research project in which negotiation processes are being studied in laboratory settings.

Rapoport, Anatol (University of Michigan) Prisoner's Dilemma (Book, ECD-1963). A report on a series of experiments in which two subjects play a game under two opposing motivational pressures, namely to "cooperate" and not to cooperate. The game is so constructed that whatever choices the subjects make, the motivational pressures operate in the opposite direction. The only way to "beat" the game is for each player to trust the other's intention to cooperate and to justify the other's trust in turn. But this must be achieved tacitly, since communication is not allowed. The data are statistics of the subjects' patterns of choices. The theory is a stochastic model of their interactions.

Rhyne, Russell F. (Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, California) Future Character of Insurrection and the Associated Problems of Internal Defense Forces in Violent and Non-violent Operations (Research, ECD-Unknown). A projection of plausible developments in the major strategic determinants of local, tactical decisions in the field of conflict near the threshold of violence. Such determinants include weapons technology, power polarization, growth of national cohesion, local and interregional economic patterns, indigenous military capabilities and relations to society, U.S. national interests and strategy, and arms control. From these considerations and constraints, some of the plausible lines of development of low-intensity armed conflict and the related requirements for internal security will be inferred.

Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
Zawodny, Janusz K. (University of Pennsylvania) The Reductive Approach in International Relations: Psychology of Human Violence and Non-violence in Problem Solving (Book, ECD-1963). A designation of categories of environmental and psychological variables conducive to violent and non-violent, cooperative and non cooperative human behavior on three levels: (1) nation-state, (2) group dynamics, and (3) personality dynamics.

Completed

Abt, Clark C., Thomas O'Sullivan, Melvin M. Kessler and Vahakn Dadrian (Raytheon Company) Theoretical Aspects of Unilateral Arms Control (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). Analyzes some of the underlying theoretical problems of arms control doctrine, including assumptions about the nature of military and international conflict. Makes clear operational distinctions between intrinsic and reciprocal unilateral arms control; describes how and why wars began in recent history and extrapolates therefrom; outlines theory of alliance formation, and significance of alliances for war initiation, escalation, and termination. Discusses future problem areas.

Barber, Arthur W. (U.S. Department of Defense) Deterrents and Incentives: Analysis of the Use of the Threat of War to Prevent or Stimulate Behavior (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Bethe, Hans A. (Cornell University) Disarmament and Strategy (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1962). Explores the difficulties which exist in connection with the "Balance of Terror," counter-force and instability, stable deterrent, the test ban, arms reduction, and other problems that must be solved before disarmament can be general and complete. Agreement on all these matters is not a prerequisite for stopping the arms race. There are ways to do this, which will not endanger, but rather increase the security of the United States.

Boulding, Kenneth E. (University of Michigan) Conflict Management as a Key to Survival (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). It is important to recognize and reverse, by an analysis of conflict patterns, malignant processes, before they reach the crisis boundary that divides peace from war. Malignant processes are always pathological and can be avoided through the development of the science of conflict management.

Coser, Lewis A. (Brandeis University) Disfunctions of Secrecy (Article, 1963). Presented at International Arms Control Symposium, Ann Arbor, December 1962, argues that secrecy destabilizes international relations in the nuclear age. Only a strategy of disclosure, rather than one of secrecy, can lead to the avoidance of violent struggle.

Deutsch, Morton (Bell Telephone Laboratories, New Jersey) On Changing an Adversary (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Raises the question of what to do when facing an unprincipled adversary who cannot be destroyed or avoided. The author's answer is to attempt to change him.

Research on Psychological Factors in Peace and War (Booklet, Eastern Psychological Association, 1962). An attempt to define and examine some of the psychological premises underlying discussions on peace and war. The booklet orients the reader to the background and goals of the research project, describes the coding system, and invites collaboration of other psychologists reading in the area of psychological factors in war and peace.

Ferguson, Allen R. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Disarmament and Deterrence (Pamphlet, RAND Corporation, April 1962). Brings up some of the questions relevant to disarmament and suggests some avenues for discussion and serious future work. Conflicts within the Eastern and Western groups, the emergence of new states, the existence of nuclear weapons, important as they are, are not the central source of danger. The dominant aspect of East-West relations is the conflict of political objectives between the Soviet Bloc and the democracies. The danger is that general nuclear war will result as a consequence of this grave conflict of political interests backed by devastating power.

Gladstone, Arthur (Chestnut Lodge Research Institute, Rockville, Maryland) Relationship Orientation and the Processes Leading Toward War (Article, Background, Vol. VI, 1962). Proposes a conceptual scheme for the study of behavior in a pre-war situation. Three processes (arms races, interaction changes, and mutual antagonizing) are described which bring about the conditions under which war between two opponents becomes possible. The concept of relationship orientation is offered as an aid to studying how the individual's definition of a situation influences his behavior in interpersonal, intergroup, and international situations. Five orientations are described, with emphasis on their implications for conflict and conflict resolution. The applicability of this approach to analysis of the Cold War is considered and finally there are some suggestions for research.

Levine, Robert A. (Harvard University) Arms Agreements, a Model of Stalemate (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, December 1962). An analysis of the reasons for the failure of the East and West to arrive at an arms agreement.

Lieberman, Bernhardt (State University of New York, Stony Brook) i-Trust (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Deals with the notion of trust and its relevance to the conduct of international affairs. Presents the results of an experiment concerning trust based on self-interest.

Lieberman, E. James (Harvard University) Nonviolent Aggression (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Discusses contemporary nonviolence as an application of socially constructive aggression. The premises are that aggression is not exclusively destructive and that nonviolence requires aggression. "A sound, vigorous nonviolent movement would channel aggression constructively."

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Rapoport, Anatol (University of Michigan) The Organizational Problem of Peace (Article, World Affairs, Vol. 125, No. 1, Spring 1962). Examines definitions and problems of peace. "We ourselves will not solve the problem of peace, nor shall we live long enough, even if we postpone war, to know whether the many problems of peace have reached some partial answers."

Marmor, Judd (University of California, Los Angeles) Psychological Obstacles to the Peaceful Resolution of the Cold War (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). A discussion of psychological obstacles to a peaceful resolution of the cold war, the foremost among which are: the increasing dehumanization which de-personalizes the horrors of war and treats them as statistics, the primitivizing effects of extreme fear or panic, ethnocentric perceptual distortions based on nationalism, and traditional glorification of war. Suggestions are made as to how to decrease the effects of these factors.

Martin, Lawrence W. (Johns Hopkins University) Political Settlements and Arms Control (Article, Current History, May 1962). The starting premise is that political settlements and arms control are closely linked. Little attention has been given to the unilateral influences we might employ in a disarmed world, to the international machinery that might be necessary and, in general, to the pattern of politics in such a world. The cold war and a host of other disputes would persist.

North, Robert C. (Stanford University) The Self-Destructive Implications of Certain Perseverant Behaviors in International Relations (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Starts with the premise that large-scale violence is no longer a viable extension of politics and diplomacy. Contends that further research is badly needed into alternate forms of conflict which will enable states to protect and pursue their interests without resort to large-scale destruction.

Osgood, Charles E. (University of Illinois) Questioning Some Unquestioned Assumptions About National Defense (Article, Journal of Arms Control, January 1963). A discussion of various assumptions about the nature of political man, deterrence, and nonviolent alternatives. Suggests that fruitful policies may result from questioning these assumptions.

Rapoport, Anatol (University of Michigan) Formal Games as Probing Tools for Investigating Behavior Motivated by Trust or Suspicion (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Rapoport, Anatol (University of Michigan) Game Theory and Its Applications to the Problem of Resolution of Intergroup Hostility (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). An analysis of the use of game theory to extend the theory of rational decision to situations where there is a conflict of interest between two or more decision makers, each of whom has only partial control of decision outcomes.

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Rock, Vincent P. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) The United States and the Soviet Union--An Approach to the Control of Conflict (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Suggests a strategy designed to create a web of interdependence between the U.S. and the Soviet Union sufficient to insure restraint and open the path to a growing sense of a community of interests.

Schacter, Oscar (United Nations) The Use of Law in Conflict Resolution (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Sherif, Muzafer (University of Oklahoma) Superordinate Goals in the Reduction of Intergroup Conflict: An Experimental Evaluation (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). A review of experiments involving "superordinate goals," which encompass all parties caught in conflict--but which cannot be fulfilled by the resources and energies of the parties separately--requiring the concerted efforts of all concerned.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Political Science and Human Conflict (Article, 1963). To be included in a volumed entitled Social Science and Human Conflict (tentative) by Elton McNeil. To be published by Prentice-Hall, 1964.

Steadman, Monte G. (Committee for Non-Violent Action, Corte Madera, California) Nonviolent Resolution of Conflict (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Advocates non-violence as a way of life and of resolving conflicts. However, for non-violence to be effective, it is necessary for all those who do not share in the depressed conditions that exist in the world to accept part of the suffering and to work co-operatively to relieve it.

Van Atta, Lester C. (Lockheed Missiles and Space Company) Arms Control: Human Control (Article, American Psychology, January 1963). The U.S. is overly preoccupied with military solutions to international problems and with hardware. Total security effort must consider the emotional aspects of the arms race. Formal negotiations will yield small promise until better communication and understanding have been established through a program of carefully planned action designed to control tension and convey intentions.

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) Non-lethal Equivalents of War (Paper, 1962). An examination of historial cases of intense pursuit of group or national conflict without resort to war or mob violence. The means by which such structuring of conflict has been or could be arranged are also investigated.

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) The Place of Hostility and Conflict in a Disarmed World (Article, 1963). An examination of ways in which disarmament might be enforced without arranging for "peaceful" or "lawful" resolution of international conflicts; also ways in which such conflicts could be carried on without war, and examination of effects of disarmament on level of personal hostilities within nations.

In Progress

Donohue, Rev. Thomas C. (Creighton University) Ethics in Strategic Planning: Some Observations at the Intersection of War-gaming and Morality (Book, ECD-1963). An attempt to discover what revisions, if any, of the "traditional 'Just War Doctrine'" are necessary to make the doctrine relevant to current military strategy as conditioned by the revolution in military technology. On the basis of findings to date, several of the "conditions" demanded today seem to refer only to "offensive war" (Vitoria) or "aggressive war" (Suarez) and not to the defensive war planned for in current strategic thinking.

Hillpern, Edmund P. (Peace Study Institute, New York) History of the Peace Movement (Article, ECD-1964). Content analysis of the acceptance speeches of the winners of the Nobel Prize for peace.

Completed

Anscombe, G.E.M., R.A. Marcus, P.T. Geach, Roger Smith and Walter Stein. Nuclear Weapons (Book, Sheed and Ward, 1962). "A Roman Catholic contribution to the subject of Western defence." The authors are primarily concerned with examining the moral and spiritual issues involved in this problem.

Bennet, John C., ed. (Union Theological Seminary) Nuclear Weapons and the Conflict of Conscience (Book, Charles Scribner's, 1962). A symposium on the nuclear dilemma containing essays by scholars in both the natural and social sciences. Articles deal with the moral aspects of the nuclear problem and their relationship to such matters as disarmament, international politics, war, etc.

Bristol, James E. (American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia) Nonviolence as a Positive Concept (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Holds that "the believer in nonviolence" wants to see an end to injustice, tyranny, corruption and the exploitation of men by their fellows. Anguish and suffering are "taken upon one's self and not visited upon an opponent."

Coblentz, Stanton A. Our Supersonic Blood Feuds (Article, Christian Century, November 21, 1962). Unless man himself changes his environment to defeat the menace of his weapons, he will not escape the operation of laws that have filled the strata of the past with the fossils of the unadapted and the unadaptable. We are still nebulously vague as to the basis of the problem. We tend to look for solutions to what are essentially side issues: the conflict of East and West, the competition of capitalism and communism, opposed ideological perspectives. The nub of the crisis is the transformation we are witnessing in the environment of our species, so that man can no longer defend himself from his own weapons. There is only one answer to the problem: abandonment of the form of world suicide that goes by the name of warfare.

Davis, Harold E. (American University) Disarmament in a House Divided (Article, World Affairs, Vol. 125, No. 3, Fall 1962). An argument in favor of disarmament and peaceful coexistence. "To be reasonable, disarmament must provide a broader basis of power in a more general moral consensus.

Falk, Richard
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Contemporary World (Book, Praeger, 1963)

Larson, Arthur (Duke University) Toward a Warless World (Article, Saturday Review, May 12, 1962). Disarmament must be followed by the erection of peace-keeping machinery to take its place, until eventually the peace is kept by a system of international law and tribunals backed by an unchallengeable international force. As a prelude to the establishment of such a system, much "homework" in the form of research in the problems of peace is necessary. Such research would do much to remove the fear of insecurity which looms large, and would also give some idea of the variety, extent and range of the positive benefits that would flow from disarmament under law.

Larson, Arthur, ed. (Duke University) A Warless World (Book, 1963). An intensive analysis of the problems of security, change, economics, cultural and spiritual effects--if disarmament were achieved.

Lippman, Walter. War and the Making of Peace (Article, Foreign Service Journal, March 1962). Nuclear weapons have made war an impossible action for a rational statesman to contemplate. However, for as long a time as we can see into the future, we shall be living between war and peace; between a war that cannot be fought and a peace that cannot be achieved.

Merton, Thomas, ed. (Monastery of Our Lady of Gethsemane) Breakthrough to Peace (Book, New Directions Paperbooks, 1962). A collection of essays dealing with the threat of thermonuclear extermination and the measures necessary to combat it. The solutions offered by the authors included are of a radical nature, going beyond proposed measures for arms control and calling for complete and general disarmament.

Millis, Walter (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California) The Abolition of War (Book, 1962)

Morton, Louis and Gene M. Lyons (Dartmouth College) The Intellectual Response to the Cold War (Book, 1963). An analysis of the peace movement.

Steadman, Monte G. (Committee for Non-Violent Action, Corte Madera, California) Nonviolent Resolution of Conflict (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Advocates non-violence as a way of life and of resolving conflict. However, for non-violence to be effective, it is necessary for all those who do not share in the depressed conditions that exist in the world to accept part of the suffering and to work co-operatively to relieve it.

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) The Limits of Defense (Book, Doubleday and Company, 1962). An inquiry into the requirements of liberty in the nuclear age. It is a radical criticism of current defense policies. The author wants to conserve American society as a going concern. He examines various theories of deterrence put forward by the rival services and by the industrial and intellectual allies of each.

In Progress

Bailey, T. Wayne. Towards Disarmament: A Study of United States-Russian Negotiations on Inspection and Control, 1955-1961 (Ph.D., University of Florida, ECD-1963). Analyzes Russian and American proposals for solving the problem of inspection and control, and seeks to evaluate the long-range prospects of this approach to disarmament. Although the norm was different immediately following World War II, there was a shift in emphasis toward disarmament measures compatible with national sovereignty. Reciprocal inspection has become a key question in disarmament negotiations.

Cory, Robert H. (Denison University) Inspection as a System of Control: Applications of National Experience to International Situations (Research, ECD-Unknown)

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Computer Simulation of a Production Ban Inspection System (Research, ECD-Unknown). After designing a hypothetical, but plausible, inspection system, modifications in its sensors, search pattern, and accessibility are coupled with simulated evasion schemes. Outputs should reveal the basic requirements and indicate the nature of the trade-off problem.

Completed

Batten, James K. (Princeton University) Arms Control and the Problem of Evasion (Monograph, Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1962). Contends that distrust, compounded by fear, constitutes the motive force behind the arms race. East-West negotiations inevitably are permeated by the same distrust. The Soviet Union's optimal policy is to negotiate an arms control agreement which, if complied with by the West, and effectively violated by the Soviets, could decisively shift the strategic balance in Moscow's favor. It cannot be assumed that a system of inspection and sanctions, once agreed upon, will necessarily deter clandestine violations. For the aggressive evader pell-mell disarmament would present a golden opportunity. For the nonaggressive nation it might provoke fears arguing for defensive evasion.

Bethe, Hans A., Douglas F. Dowd, Walter F. Lafeber, Mario Einaudi, Philip Morrison and Jay Orear (Cornell University) Problems of Disarmament (Book, Monthly Review Press, 1962). A series of articles dealing with disarmament by faculty members of the Departments of History, Government, and Physics, at Cornell University.

Bohn, Lewis C. Non Physical Inspection of a Nuclear Test Ban (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Bornstein, Morris (University of Michigan) Inspection of Economic Records (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Deutsch, Karl (Yale University) Assurance of Compliance to an Agreement by Means of Indirect Evidence (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) Arms Inspection (Article, International Conciliation, No. 540, 1962)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) Reciprocal Inspection (Article, 1962)

Hunter, Holland (Haverford College) The Control of Unknown Arms (Book, University of Michigan Press, 1963). The USSR may be willing to reduce its arms but without a comparable willingness to dismantle its secrecy; several guidelines are suggested for arms reduction under conditions of limited disclosure.

Inglis, David R., et al (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois) Argonne-FAS Discussion Group on Black Boxes (Paper, 1963). An independent study of the spoofing of "black boxes"; that is, sealed automatic seismographs, and counter-spoofing techniques. The authors conclude that above-ground units can be made reliable if the installation is inspected before and after the period monitored or if the unit is equipped to photograph its environment or, preferably, both.

Inglis, David R. (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois) Lessons from the Resumption of Nuclear Testing (Article, War Peace Report, July 1962)

Inglis, David R. (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois) On Resuming Nuclear Tests (Article, New Republic, February 20, 1962)

Katz, Amrom (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Secrecy and the Dilemma of Inspection (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Kuhn, Harold (Mathematica Inc.) Inspection Plans, Sampling and Game Theory (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Lefever, Ernest W., ed. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) Arms and Arms Control (Book, Praeger, 1962). A symposium designed to provide a balanced presentation of some recent writings on the subject of arms control; the contributors being established scholars in the field. A selected bibliography of materials on arms control is appended.

Marshall, Charles B. (Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research) Hide and Seek: Some Dour Thoughts on Inspection (Article, New Republic, November 24, 1962). An uninspected arms control compact appears to be impossible for the calculable future. The outlook is poor--indefinite impasse on formal terms, with abatement of the problem restricted to unilateral steps and formal and tacit agreements, with or without more such crises as the one over Cuba. Armaments might conceivably have been tethered without all the paraphernalia of inspection. But this hypothesis is based on fantastic rather than realistic imagination.

Orear, Jay (Cornell University) Safeguarded Zonal Disarmament (Article, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, February 1963). Article describes a specific example of zone by zone disarmament and inspection. Safeguards against cheating on the last zone are presented.

Orear, Jay (Cornell University) Time Phasing of Physical Inspection (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
O'Sullivan, Thomas (Raytheon Company) "Social Inspection" (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Phelps, John B. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) Information and Arms Control (Article, Journal of Arms Control, January 1963). Arms control planning is considered from the standpoint of the type and quantity of information which passes between the nations involved. The most fundamental difficulty in disarmament negotiations has been "a sharp asymmetry of circumstances and views on arms information and inspection."

Phelps, John B. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) et al. Information and Arms Control (Research, 1963). An investigation of the information requirements of various arms control measures, both unilateral and negotiated in relation to the types and varieties of information which may exist in addition to ad hoc inspection. A major part of the work is concerned with observation satellites for arms control, although some incidental work on accidental war and unilateral arms control is also included.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Inspection and Protection in Arms Reduction (Article, Journal of Arms Control, January 1963). An information-oriented examination of the processes by which germane information is generated, recorded, transmitted, and acted upon by a hypothetical international organization whose dual role includes protection as well as inspection.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Media Analysis in Inspection for Disarmament (Article, 1962). Examination of ways in which quantitative analysis of the public media might serve as a supplementary device for ascertaining the degree of national adherence to a disarmament agreement.

Sohn, Louis B. (Harvard University) Zonal Disarmament and Inspection: Variations on a Theme (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1962). No nation should reject the opportunity for exploring further the possibilities for progressive zonal disarmament and inspection until a better way is found to deal with the complex problem of the link between disarmament and inspection. A study of zonal disarmament and inspection on an intergovernmental level might lead to new proposals; however, what matters, is that the two sides should approach the problem in a spirit of mutual understanding of their respective preoccupations and anxieties. Once the spirit manifests itself, the technical solution will not be far behind.

Stone, A.M. (Johns Hopkins University) The Question of Inspection (Paper, 1963)

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

In Progress

Rosen, Sumner (Harvard University) Economic and Political Implications of Disarmament for the U.S. (Book, ECD-1963)

Sokol, Anthony E. (Stanford University) Problems of Disarmament (Book, ECD-Unknown). Discusses the probable effect of any kind of disarmament on international tensions, the economic situation, and national security. Also considers what kind of disarmament is needed, what kind is feasible, and what might be a promising approach to the problem at this time.

Completed

Benoit, Emile (Columbia University) Disarmament and the Economy (Book, Harpers, 1963)

Benoit, Emile (Columbia University) Economic Impacts of Disarmament (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Changes in defense spending resulting from disarmament will require advance planning by Government, business firms, labor unions, and other private organizations. The author suggests adjustment programs to alleviate the difficulties.

Bluestone, Irving (United Automobile Workers) The Responsibility of the Government for Manpower Planning in Disarmament (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Dentler, Robert A. (Columbia University) Urban Welfare and the Post-Disarmament Economy (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Explores the urban political economy under the assumption that sound international agreements have been obtained and that the new challenge for the nation is to adapt to the economic reorganization that must follow from disarmament. Argues for federal support and management of greatly expanded welfare programs in central cities.

Leontief, Wassily (Harvard University) Disarmament and Alternative Uses of Economic Resources: A Quantitative Assessment (Paper, American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 1962).

Soviet defense expenditures are probably considerably smaller than ours, however, they absorb a higher proportion of their national income. Since the USSR is still a developing economy, disarmament will open the possibility of using the resources set free for the satisfaction of correspondingly increased non-military civilian demand. In the United States, with its fully developed economy, the advent of disarmament would create more difficult problems. For some time the American economy has averaged a growth rate of about 2.5% per annum, making an automatic absorption of resources released through reduction of military demand by rapidly expanding civilian demand impossible to count on. Disarmament would also result in the dislocation of many families, due to the necessity of finding new jobs and uneven distribution of various industries throughout the country.

Melman, Seymour, ed. (Columbia University) Disarmament: Its Politics and Economics (Book, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1962). Represents a symposium of the thinking of established scholars in the arms control and disarmament field. Reflects the current range of points of view on the subject, with special emphasis on new and unconventional, but plausible approaches. Recent discussion has focused on disarmament, and considerably more attention has been given to the economic and political aspects of the problem, as distinct from the purely military.

Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
Melman, Seymour (Columbia University) Problems of Industrial Conversion
Under Disarmament (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American
Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., 1963)

Melman, Seymour (Columbia University) To Make Disarmament Real (Article,
Current History, May 1962). The United States can use its still
unmatched production power as an instrument for winning a world victory
for peace with freedom. The production power of the United States,
instead of military power, can be used as a strategic instrument. For
the United States, starting the peace race does not require that the
arms race be ended as a precondition. In order to compete in a peace
race, the Soviets will be compelled to seek disarmament. Differences
in economic power can be turned into major political assets.

Merriam, Ida C. (Social Security Administration, Washington, D.C.) Social
Welfare Opportunities and Necessities Attendant upon Disarmament
(Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association,
Washington, D.C.). Sees in disarmament an opportunity to wipe out
poverty in the U.S. Thirty-five million persons are living below
reasonable minimum levels, the dollars freed by disarmament could move
the United States to a new level of general welfare.

Nadler, Eugene (Case Institute of Technology) Problems of Conversion in
Current Trends of the Arms Race (Paper, International Arms Control
Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Nelson, Richard R. The Impact of Arms Reduction on Research and Development
(Paper, American Economic Association, December 1962). Arms reduction
would have a major impact on research and development. However,
disarmament would be only a short-run problem in any case, as research
and development are among the fastest growing activities in the American
economy. The Federal Government could easily help to mitigate the
economic effects of disarmament by such policies as stepping up peacetime
space programs, or facilitating the transfer of scientific resources to
projects advancing civilian technology.

Piel, Gerard (Scientific American, New York) From Arms to Abundance
(Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association,
Washington, D.C., March 1963). An examination of the economic
alternatives to armament. Maintains that the reduction in the arms
budget can be offset by worthwhile and overdue investment in the upgrading
of human and material resources.

FOREIGN POLICY (UNITED STATES)

In Progress

Basiuk, Victor (Columbia University) Technological Change and the Balance
of Power, 1870- (Book, ECD-1964). An analysis of the impact of
technological change on the power positions of the major nations
between 1870 and the present. Among the areas of technology covered are
steel, electricity, transportation, chemistry, armaments, non-ferrous
metals, atomic and other sources of energy. The study attempts to
establish trends for the future and their implications for American
foreign policy. The implications of the present technological trends for
arms control are also discussed.

Jacob, Philip E. (University of Pennsylvania) Dynamics of Value Change in International Policymaking: Impact of Scientific and Technological Knowledge (Monograph, ECD-1964)

Jacobson, Harold K. (University of Michigan) and Eric Stein. The Test Ban Negotiations: A Case Study in the Interaction of Science and Diplomacy (Research, ECD-Unknown)

Knauth, Oliver D. (1830 - 47th Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.) If Deterrence Fails - An Alternate Proposal for Peace (Book, ECD-1963). A study of the effects of the Nuclear Age on foreign and military policy, particularly that of the United States. The book ends with a proposal for a multinational nuclear deterrent force.

Osgood, Robert E. (Johns Hopkins University) Military Power in International Politics (Book, ECD-1965). A description, analysis, and interpretation of the role of military power in international relations before and during the nuclear age, intended to generalize about patterns of continuity and change in the nature and consequences of arms and efforts to control, limit, or abolish them.

Completed

Abt, Clark C. (Raytheon Company) Disarmament Appraised as a Strategy (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Barter, Benjamin (Harvard University) Study of American Deterrent Policy (Paper, 1962)

Bechhoefer, Bernhard G. (Atomic Energy Commission) The Disarmament Deadlock: 1946-1955 (Article, Current History, May 1962). Focuses on the question: What can we learn from the futile negotiations of these ten years?

Berkes, Ross N. (University of Southern California) American Fears of the Soviet Union (Article, Current History, May 1962). An analysis of Soviet pressures upon the United States. The Soviet Union uses disarmament proposals as a potent and useful instrument of political warfare or as a trap to waylay unwary American military power. The ultimate result of the balance of terror has been to encourage the Soviet Union to take more risks. With so many new nations, underdeveloped, unviable, insecure, and yet ambitious, this will increasingly become the age not only of the balance of terror but also of instability. Instability spells opportunity for international communism, and the Krushchevian interpretation of opportunity will be to support, covertly but actively, local wars. A reassessment of the Soviet menace is in order.

George, James B. (Raytheon Company) U.S. Overseas Bases in a Changing Strategic Environment (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). Examines military, political and economic utilities associated with fixed overseas bases in fourteen environmental contexts, and compares them with the utilities of four other types of bases in the same contexts. Areas available for U.S. unilateral arms control actions regarding overseas bases, as constrained by legal, political, and military-security factors are then defined, and some potential uses of the criteria developed in the study are given.

Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
Goldsen, Joseph M., ed. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Outer
Space in World Politics (Book, Praeger, 1963)

Hammond, Paul Y. (Yale University) The Inhibitory Effect of Undefined
Political Objectives (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium,
University of Michigan, December 1962)

Jensen, Lloyd (University of Illinois) and Joseph Nogee (University of
Houston) Soviet-American Bargaining Behavior (Paper, International
Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Levine, Robert A. (Harvard University) Breaking the Arms Stalemate
(Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, June 1962). An analysis
of the stalemate in arms negotiations. Suggests some directions in
which the United States policy might move in order to obtain future
reconciliation. The most important step we can take now to bring about
ultimate agreement is to strengthen our military forces to the extent
necessary to convince the Soviet Union that the use of threat will not
succeed.

Ponturo, John (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) The
Deterrence of Limited Aggression: Strategic and Nonstrategic
Interactions (Article, Orbis, January 1963). Deals with the problem
of the effect of arms control and unilateral defense measures in
reducing the threat of limited aggression short of all-out attack upon
the U.S. The psychological significance of "superiority" cannot be
easily dismissed. "The importance of relative military strength in
international relations is deeply imbedded in the habits of thought and
action of statesmen."

Pool, Ithiel de Sola (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Communication
and Deterrence (Papers, 1963). Part of a series of papers dealing with
the ways in which communication strategy affects deterrence. It deals
with problems of American communication and of potential enemy receipt
of deterrent information.

Possony, Stefan T. (Stanford University) Toward Nuclear Isolationism?
(Article, Orbis, January 1963). By itself, the U.S. cannot hope to
implement an adequate "strategy of supremacy" which will bend downward
the curve of conflict probability (at least without drastically
curtailing domestic consumption and investment). A task of this
magnitude "can be handled effectively only by NATO as a whole."

Roberts, Richard B. (Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, D.C.)
Arms, Arms Control and Foreign Policy (Article, 1963). An analysis of
arms control as a method of reducing armaments to the minimum needed for
the conduct of foreign policy.

Rock, Vincent P. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) The
United States and the Soviet Union--An Approach to the Control of
Conflict (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric
Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Suggests a strategy
designed to create a web of interdependence between the U.S. and the
Soviet Union sufficient to insure restraint and open the path to a
growing sense of a community of interests.

Singer, J. Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
David (University of Michigan) Soviet and American Foreign Policy

Attitudes: A Content Analysis of Elite Articulations (Report, July 1962). Prepared under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. To be published as part of the "Studies in Deterrence" series. Provides information on the operational codes of the foreign policy elites in the USSR and the U.S. Aims at eliciting data concerning the views of these two elites in regard to four basic issues: (1) their image of the international environment; (2) their evaluation of the power balance; (3) their evaluation of the other's operational code; and (4) their evaluation of their own operational code.

Spanier, John W. (University of Florida) and Joseph L. Nogee (University of Houston) The Politics of Disarmament: A Study in Soviet-American Gamesmanship (Book, Praeger, 1962). A study of the role of the American-Soviet disarmament negotiations in the diplomacy of the Cold War. The authors examine the tactics and political objectives of both contenders, viewing the disarmament negotiations as a complex part of the over-all struggle for power.

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) Manifest Destiny and Disarmament (Article, 1962). An examination of the relation between the political aims of U.S. foreign policy and competing military strategies; including disarmament, viewed as a special case in military strategy.

Wildavsky, Aaron B. (Oberlin College) Nuclear Clubs or Nuclear Wars (Article, Yale Review, March 1962). The policy of the U.S. should be to give assistance or approval to selected small nations who wish to acquire atomic weapons. It is worth risking an increase in the probability of atomic accident, if by so doing the U.S. gains a decrease in the probability of total war. It is worth enduring occasional difficulties from nations whose bargaining power has been increased through the possession of atomic weapons, if the U.S. can also increase the probability that they will maintain their independence.

Wright, Quincy (University of Virginia) Power Politics or a Rule of Law? (Article, New Republic, December 29, 1962). An inquiry as to whether a preventive war is not more dangerous in the nuclear age than before. In the context of the "Cuban Crisis", the presence of long-range missiles in Cuba hardly constituted an "instant and overwhelming necessity" (Daniel Webster's doctrine). Khrushchev intended the missiles only for defense against armed attack.

HISTORY

In Progress

Abt, Clark C. (Raytheon Company, Bedford, Massachusetts) Theories of Contemporary War (Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, ECD-1963). An analysis of contemporary theories of war origins, initiation, escalation, containment, and termination. Scholarly, historical, and fictional works on war and its causes covering the period 1945-1975 are examined and compared. An eclectic theory of the causes and nature of the most salient types of contemporary wars will be synthesized. To be published also as a book.

Basiuk Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3

The Balance of Power, 1870- (Book, ECD-1964). An analysis of the impact of technological change on the power positions of the major nations between 1870 and the present. Among the areas of technology covered are steel, electricity, transportation, chemistry, armaments, non-ferrous metals, atomic and other sources of energy. The study attempts to establish trends for the future and their implications for American foreign policy. The implications of the present technological trends for arms control are also discussed.

Clemens, Walter C. (University of California, Santa Barbara) Soviet Disarmament Policy Between the World Wars (Research, ECD-1963)

Hillpern, Edmund P. (Peace Study Institute, New York) History of the Peace Movement (Article, ECD-1964). Content analysis of the acceptance speeches of the winners of the Nobel Prize for peace.

Kelly, George A. (Harvard University) An Experiment in Limitation and Control: Non-intervention and Naval Inspection in the Spanish Civil War (Article, ECD-1963). An examination of the powers, activity and scope of the multilateral arrangements for control and limitation during the Spanish civil war to: (1) assess the caliber of multilateral but non-international conventions; (2) examine a situation in which ideologically hostile powers participated; (3) evaluate the efficacy, inadequacy, use and misuse of the agreements; and (4) judge the aspect of "mutual benefit" in the light of events.

Loewenthal, Milton A. Comparative Disarmament Efforts, 1920-1940 (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-1965)

Myers, Frank. The "Ban-the-Bomb" Campaign in Britain: Its History and Political Impact (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-Unknown)

Naroll, Raoul, Freda Naroll, and Vern Bullough (Institute for Cross-Cultural Studies) Deterrence in History (Research, ECD-Unknown). Implemented under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. Project is continuing, and further extension is contemplated. To date, sixteen reports have been issued during the course of the study.

Osgood, Robert E. (Johns Hopkins University) Arms Races and Arms Control: The History of Disarmament Since 1946 (Article, ECD-1964). An attempt to determine the causes and dynamics of arms races and the difficulties and possibilities of limiting them, with or without formal agreement. A consideration of the post-World War II arms race and disarmament discussions in the light of pre-World War II history and certain novel factors since World War II.

Rudoff, Robin M. (Colorado College) The Impact of the German Navy on British Foreign Policy, 1928-1935 (Ph.D., Tulane University, ECD-1963). This is a study of German naval policy and reactions to that policy by Britain. A major concern is the hard British desire for arms limitation (disarmament) in the naval sphere, a policy that would have guaranteed Britain's extant dominance in European waters while allowing her to reduce expenditure. Hitler's apparent agreement to limitation in 1935 "slickered" the British, and marks a tragic point in appeasement policy and European affairs. Disarmament failed here in large part because each power wanted a peculiar brand suited to its own ends.

Smith, Alice K. (Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts) ~~Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3~~
Political and Educational Activities of American Scientists, 1945-1947 (Book, ECD-1963)

Socas, Roberto E. (City University of New York) France and Naval Disarmament, 1918-1923 (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-Unknown)

Completed

Bailey, Norman A. The Inter-American Peace and Security System for Dealing with Threats to the Peace and Breaches of the Peace, 1948-1959 (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1962)

Bechhoefer, Bernhard G. (Atomic Energy Commission) The Disarmament Deadlock: 1946-1955 (Article, Current History, May 1962). Focuses on the question: What can we learn from the futile negotiations of these ten years?

Bullough, Vern L. (Institute for Cross-Cultural Reference) The Roman Empire vs. Persia, 363-502: A Study of Successful Deterrence (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. VII, 1963)

Clark, John J. (St. John's University) Anglo-German Naval Negotiations, 1898-1914 and 1933-1938: A Study in Arms Control (Article, 1963). The history of the Anglo-German naval negotiations is presented in the hope that those dealing with similar problems of arms control and disarmament in the 1960's may derive some benefit from past experience.

Clemens, Walter C., Jr. (University of California, Santa Barbara) Lenin on Disarmament (Paper, Far Western Slavic Conference, Seattle, Washington, April 1962). Puts forth the thesis that Lenin's position on disarmament before and after the Bolshevik Revolution was not contradictory, but entirely consonant with a standard laid down by him in 1916. The author suggests that the primary motive of Soviet disarmament propaganda has been political: to keep the capitalist world divided and off balance, while demonstrating to the masses the impossibility of disarmament under capitalism and, consequently the need for a communist revolution.

Heinricks, W.H., Jr. (Johns Hopkins University) American Arms Policy: Hiroshima to the Lucky Dragon (Book, Houghton Mifflin, 1963). A study of the security factors leading to a rigid negotiating position on arms control, with particular emphasis on the Baruch Plan.

Nanes, Allan S. (Library of Congress) ~~Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3~~ The Last Sixty Years (Article, Current History, May 1962). The disarmament discussions since 1955 have been a failure primarily because they have erroneously focused on the problem of inspection and control rather than on the more pertinent problem of devising methods to prevent the use of atomic weapons in a sudden attack. At present, the prospects for any sort of agreement are dim. However, there is some hope in the growing public consciousness of the destructive character of modern weapons. That consciousness is nagging at the conscience of governments.

Perkins, Dexter (University of Pittsburgh) America's Quest for Peace (Book, Indiana University Press, 1962). A summarization of the history of the world's efforts toward peace from the 19th century to the present time. Emphasis is placed on three major themes through which these efforts have found expression: peace through law; peace through collective security; and peace through disarmament.

Ropp, Theodore (Duke University) War in the Modern World (Book, Collier Books, rev. ed., 1962). A history of the wars of Western civilization from 1415 to the present. The book analyzes the social and political implications of modern warfare as well as the military aspects. According to the author, war is a disease that might be prevented. In the future, an aggressor "may be deterred by the knowledge that the other side has the certain power to inflict swift, inescapable and crushing retaliation." If civilization is to survive, war must be eliminated.

Slusser, Robert M. (Johns Hopkins University) Soviet Policy Towards Disarmament, 1945-1962 (Article, 1962)

Smith, Alice K. (Radcliffe College) American Scientists and International Control of Atomic Energy--1945 to 1946 (Paper, Atomic Energy Commission, November 1962). A discussion of the efforts of American scientists to achieve some form of international control of atomic energy during the initial months of the nuclear era.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

In Progress

Christol, Carl Q. (University of Southern California) The International Law of Outer Space (Book, ECD-1963). An analysis of the principles and rules of international law applicable to outer space.

Completed

Bailey, Norman A. The Inter-American Peace and Security System for Dealing with Threats to the Peace and Breaches of the Peace, 1948-1959 (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1962)

Bloomfield, Lincoln P., ed. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) International Forces (Book, 1963). Special spring issue of International Organization, to be published as a book by Little, Brown.

Crane, Robert (Duke University) Law and Strategy in Space (Article, Orbis, Vol. VI, No. 2, Summer 1962). Examines the problems of military and ideological deterrence. "The realization that neither side can...win a modern war...has resulted in the development of deterrence as the principal aim of U.S. military policy." The development of space law can contribute to the implementation of our deterrence strategies.

Crane, Robert D. (Duke University) Soviet Attitudes Toward International Space Law (Article, American Journal of International Law, Vol. 56, No. 3, July 1962). Holds that the Soviets now consider modern war can and must be avoided. The Soviets have made a fundamental shift in their approach to international law, exchanging a defensive for an offensive strategy aimed at replacing in its entirety traditional international law designed to serve "capitalist" interests with a new international law designed to serve international communism. They consider that the balance of space power is strongly weighted in their favor and that, accordingly the possibilities of developing "communist" law are promising.

Falk, Richard A. (Princeton University) Law, Morality and War in the Contemporary World (Book, Praeger, 1963)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) Arms Limitation and Institution of World Order (Article, 1962)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) Enforcement Under International Arms Control Agreements (Article, 1962)

Fisher, Roger (Harvard University) Responding to Disarmament Violations (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1962). Affirms that the concept of control in the sense of effective power (as when we say that a forest fire has been brought under control) and inspection are often confused. Just as there is no way of guaranteeing 100 per cent compliance with the original disarmament rules, there is no way of guaranteeing 100 per cent acceptance of the authorized response to a breach of those rules. However, the possibility exists of utilizing legal and institutional techniques to structure the situation so that the questions come up in such small bites that the large interest each country has in maintaining some scheme of international order outweighs the small gain that would be accomplished through defiance in a particular case.

Halderman, John W. (Duke University) Legal Basis for International Armed Forces (Article, American Journal of International Law, October 1962). A study of the legal basis for past United Nations armed forces, with particular attention to potential creation of other armed forces by the General Assembly.

Larson, Arthur (Duke University) Toward a Warless World (Article, Saturday Review, May 12, 1962). Disarmament must be followed by the erection of peace-keeping machinery to take its place, until eventually the peace is kept by a system of international law and tribunals backed by an unchallengeable international force. As a prelude to the establishment of such a system, much "homework" in the form of research in the problems of peace is necessary. Such research would do much to remove the fear of insecurity which looms large, and would also give some idea of the variety, extent and range of the positive benefits that would flow from disarmament under law.

Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
McClelland, Charles (San Francisco State College, and University of Virginia)
(University of Virginia) Prospects for Novel Control Systems in
International Politics (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium,
University of Michigan, December 1962)

McClure, Wallace (Duke University) Disarmament and Individuals (Article,
1963). A study of how a disarmament treaty could be enforced against
individuals and firms: what treaty clauses would apply; constitutional
question of enforceability with or without implementing legislation;
kinds of offenses likely to occur; general problems of enforcing
disarmament through actions against individuals.

Perkins, Dexter (University of Pittsburgh) America's Quest for Peace
(Book, Indiana University Press, 1962). A summarization of the history
of the world's efforts toward peace from the 19th century to the
present time. Emphasis is placed on three major themes through which
these efforts have found expression: peace through law; peace through
collective security; and peace through disarmament.

Schacter, Oscar (United Nations) The Use of Law in Conflict Resolution
(Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association,
Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Wright, Quincy (University of Virginia) Power Politics or a Rule of Law?
(Article, New Republic, December 29, 1962). An inquiry as to whether
a preventive war is not more dangerous in the nuclear age than before.
In the context of the "Cuban Crisis", the presence of long-range
missiles in Cuba hardly constituted an "instant and overwhelming
necessity" (Daniel Webster's doctrine). Khrushchev intended the missiles
only for defense against armed attack.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

In Progress

Lawson, Ruth C. (Mount Holyoke College) NATO and the Problem of Western
European Security (Book, ECD-1963). An analysis of NATO as a security
organization in the context of traditional thinking concerning
collective security, and necessary modifications in such thinking as
required by the evolution of effective collective defense organizations.

Nogee, Joseph L. (University of Houston) The Role of Neutrals and Third
Parties in Negotiations Between East and West of Cold War Issues in the
United Nations (Book, ECD-Unknown)

Completed

Bailey, Norman A. The Inter-American Peace and Security System for Dealing
with Threats to the Peace and Breaches of the Peace, 1948-1959 (Ph.D.,
Columbia University, 1962)

Bargman, Abraham (United Nations) Sanctions and Enforcement; the Necessary
and the Possible (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium,
University of Michigan, December 1962)

Bloomfield, Lincoln P. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Arms Control and World Government (Article, World Politics, July 1962). Current thinking on the subject of arms control and disarmament has once again rekindled interest in the problem of world government. However, two problems appear to the author to be paramount for both comprehensive disarmament and limited world government: the effective centralization of all the military and political power in the world and the establishment of a unified, world-wide system to which the forces of both the East and the West could adhere. The author speculates that such a system would eventually bear as little resemblance to the first-stage plans, as the U.S. system in 1962 bears to the thirteen colonies under the Articles of Confederation.

Bloomfield, Lincoln P., ed. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) International Forces (Book, 1963). Special spring issue of International Organization, to be published as a book by Little, Brown.

Claude, Inis L., Jr. (University of Michigan) United Nations Use of Military Force (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. VII, 1963)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) Arms Limitation and Institution of World Order (Article, 1962)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) Enforcement Under International Arms Control Agreements (Article, 1962)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) The United Nations and Organization for the Control of Armaments (Article, International Organization, Winter 1962). Examines the assertion that it is desirable to associate the U.N. intimately with arrangements for the control and limitation of armaments. Holds that the relationship question is essentially irrelevant to the central disarmament issues, but may be relevant with respect to some marginal tactical matters.

Fisher, Roger (Harvard University) Responding to Disarmament Violations (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1962). Affirms that the concept of control in the sense of effective power, as when we say that a forest fire has been brought under control, and inspection are often confused. Just as there is no way of guaranteeing 100 per cent compliance with the original disarmament rules, there is no way of guaranteeing 100 percent acceptance of the authorized response to a breach of those rules. However, the possibility exists of utilizing legal and institutional techniques to structure the situation so that the questions come up in such small bites that the large interest each country has in maintaining some scheme of international order outweighs the small gain that would be accomplished through defiance in a particular case.

Ikle, Fred C. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Alternative Approaches to the International Organization of Disarmament (Report, RAND Corporation, February 1962). A final report on a study of organizational requirements and organizational problems involved in implementing arms control measures.

Larson, Arthur (Duke University) Toward a Warless World (Article, Saturday Review, May 12, 1962). Disarmament must be followed by the erection of peace-keeping machinery to take its place, until eventually the peace is kept by a system of international law and tribunals backed up an unchallengeable international force. As a prelude to the establishment of such a system, much "homework" in the form of research in the problems of peace is necessary. Such research would do much to remove the fear of insecurity which looms large, and would also give some idea of the variety, extent and range of the positive benefits that would flow from disarmament under law.

Lyons, Gene (Dartmouth College) Sanctions and Enforcement (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

McClelland, Charles (San Francisco State College) and Quincy Wright (University of Virginia) Prospects for Novel Control Systems in International Politics (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Melman, Seymour, ed. (Columbia University) Disarmament: Its Politics and Economics (Book, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1962). Represents a symposium of the thinking of established scholars in the arms control and disarmament field. Reflects the current range of points of view on the subject, with special emphasis on new and unconventional, but plausible approaches. Recent discussion has focused on disarmament, and considerably more attention has been given to the economic and political aspects of the problem, as distinct from the purely military.

Munk, Frank (Reed College) The Future of the Atlantic Community (Book, 1963). An investigation of the basic values, historical development, and present structure of the Atlantic Community, and alternatives for further implementation in the economic, military and political spheres.

Perkins, Dexter (University of Pittsburgh) America's Quest for Peace (Book, Indiana University Press, 1962). A summarization of the history of the world's efforts toward peace from the 19th century to the present time. Emphasis is placed on three major themes through which these efforts have found expression: peace through law; peace through collective security; and peace through disarmament.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Inspection and Protection in Arms Reduction (Article, Journal of Arms Control, January 1963). An information-oriented examination of the processes by which germane information is generated, recorded, transmitted, and acted upon by a hypothetical international organization whose dual role includes protection as well as inspection.

Teller, Edward. We Can't Turn Back the Nuclear Clock (Article, Air Force and Space Digest, January 1963). Prohibitions which can be violated by the bootleggers at will cannot be made effective. Timidity has been a major factor causing us to lose ground in a number of fields. The author suggests the establishment of a supranational authority, which can guard peace and freedom and guarantee the rapid development of all people.

In Progress

Lyons, Gene (Dartmouth College) Problems of Command of International Forces
(Book, ECD-Unknown)

Completed

Bargman, Abraham (United Nations) Sanctions and Enforcement; The Necessary and the Possible (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Bloomfield, Lincoln P., ed. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) International Forces (Book, 1963). Special spring issue of International Organization, to be published as a book by Little, Brown.

Claude, Inis L., Jr. (University of Michigan) United Nations Use of Military Force (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. VII, 1963)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) Arms Limitation and Institution of World Order (Article, 1962)

Finkelstein, Lawrence (Harvard University) Enforcement Under International Arms Control Agreements (Article, 1962)

Fisher, Roger (Harvard University) Responding to Disarmament Violations (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1962). Affirms that the concept of control in the sense of effective power, as when we say that a forest fire has been brought under control, and inspection are often confused. Just as there is no way of guaranteeing 100 per cent compliance with the original disarmament rules, there is no way of guaranteeing 100 per cent acceptance of the authorized response to a breach of those rules. However, the possibility exists of utilizing legal and institutional techniques to structure the situation so that the questions come up in such small bites that the large interest each country has in maintaining some scheme of international order outweighs the small gain that would be accomplished through defiance in a particular case.

Goldstein, Walter (Brooklyn College) The Peaceful Limitation of Disputes -- Police Powers and Problems (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Halderman, John W. (Duke University) Legal Basis for International Armed Forces (Article, American Journal of International Law, October 1962). A study of the legal basis for past United Nations armed forces, with particular attention to potential creation of other armed forces by the General Assembly.

Larson, Arthur (Duke University) Forward to Warless World (1961-1962) Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
Saturday Review, May 12, 1962). Disarmament must be followed by the erection of peace-keeping machinery to take its place, until eventually the peace is kept by a system of international law and tribunals backed by an unchallengeable international force. As a prelude to the establishment of such a system, much "homework" in the form of research in the problems of peace is necessary. Such research would do much to remove the fear of insecurity which looms large, and would also give some idea of the variety, extent and range of the positive benefits that would flow from disarmament under law.

Lyons, Gene (Dartmouth College) Sanctions and Enforcement (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

McClelland, Charles (San Francisco State College) and Quincy Wright (University of Virginia) Prospects for Novel Control Systems in International Politics (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Inspection and Protection in Arms Reduction (Article, Journal of Arms Control, January 1963). An information-oriented examination of the processes by which germane information is generated, recorded, transmitted, and acted upon by a hypothetical international organization whose dual role includes protection as well as inspection.

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) Factors Relevant to Political Control of an International Police Force (Paper, 1963). Recommendations to ACDA for possible fruitful policy lines and useful research on problems of political control of an international police force in a disarmed world.

MILITARY STRATEGY (UNITED STATES)

In Progress

Armacost, Michael H. (Pomona College) The Long Range Missiles: A Case Study of Weapons Innovations in the Cold War (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-1964). Describes the nature of the political process by which a new major weapons system is innovated. Also analyzes the attitudes of politically significant groups in this country toward scientific research and its application for military purposes.

Brown, Seyom (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) A Universal Supranational Military Deterrent System (Ph.D., University of Chicago, ECD-Unknown)

Comfort, Kenneth J. The Development of Nuclear Weapons for Tactical Use: A Study in the Problems of Weapons Innovation (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-1963)

Knauth, Oliver D. (1830 - 47th Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.) If Deterrence Fails - An Alternate Proposal for Peace (Book, ECD-1963). A study of the effects of the Nuclear Age on foreign and military policy, particularly that of the United States, with a proposal for a multi-national nuclear deterrent force.

Naroll, ~~Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3~~
Naroll, ~~Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3~~
Meredith Naroll, and Vern Bulloch (Institute for Cross-Cultural
Studies) Deterrence in History (Research, ECD-Unknown). Implemented
under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test
Station, China Lake, California. Project is continuing, and further
extension is contemplated. To date, sixteen reports have been issued
during the course of the study.

Tarr, Cedric W. Graduated Deterrence: The Use of Nuclear Weapons in Limited
War (Ph.D., University of Southern California, ECD-Unknown)

Completed

Abt, Clark, Morton Gorden, Vahakn Dadrian and Edward Gude (Raytheon
Company) The European Arms Control Environment (Report, Raytheon
Company, January 1963). Describes the major European arms control and
deterrent and alternative defense postures; also suggests some changes
that would improve defensive capability without increasing the risk of
war or an arms race. The question of U.S. nuclear sharing with allies
is examined. A preliminary discussion of means by which NATO might
integrate both national and multilateral nuclear forces is given.

Abt, Clark C. (Raytheon Company) The Problems and Possibilities of Space
Arms Control (Article, Journal of Arms Control, Vol. I, No. 1,
January 1963). Discusses the relation between the development of space
weapons and the requirements for including them under an arms control
agreement, with reference to the usefulness of such weapons under
varying strategies and the problems involved in subjecting these weapons
to international control.

Barber, Arthur W. (U.S. Department of Defense) Deterrents and Incentives:
Analysis of the Use of the Threat of War to Prevent or Stimulate
Behavior (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric
Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Barber, Benjamin (Harvard University) Study of American Deterrent Policy
(Paper, 1962)

Bethe, Hans A. (Cornell University) Disarmament and Strategy (Article,
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1962). Explores the
difficulties which exist in connection with the "Balance of Terror,"
counter-force and instability, stable deterrent, the test ban, arms
reduction, and other problems that must be solved before disarmament
can be general and complete. Agreement on all these matters is not a
prerequisite for stopping the arms race. There are ways to do this,
which will not endanger, but rather increase the security of the United
States.

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Boulding, Kenneth E. (University of Michigan) Towards a Future Theory of Threat Systems (Paper, American Economic Association, Pittsburgh, December 1962). Develops an economic theory of threat systems to analyze the arms race in the present international situation. Postulates four responses to threat: submission, defiance, counter-threat, and integrative response. However, all threat systems have a long-run instability and tend to degenerate into deterrence, which cannot be continually successful. In the nuclear age existence is possible only on terms of conditional viability. The loss of unconditional viability of nation-states as a result of the development of nuclear weapons has produced a grave crisis in the threat systems of international relations.

Bullough, Vern L. (Institute for Cross-Cultural Studies) The Roman Empire vs. Persia, 363-502: A Study of Successful Deterrence (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. VII, 1963)

Calvocoressi, Peter (Institute of Strategic Studies) Studies in International Security: World Order and New States, Problems of Keeping the Peace (Book, Praeger, 1962). A study of the world instability created by the rise of a great many new sovereign states at a time when the great powers have lost their old freedom of action against the spread of disorder. The "major powers now have great armaments, but they think in terms of deterrence rather than employment."

Crane, Robert D. (Duke University) Law and Strategy in Space (Article, Orbis, Vol. VI, No. 2, Summer 1962). Examines the problems of military and ideological deterrence. "The realization that neither side can... win a modern war...has resulted in the development of deterrence as the principal aim of U.S. military policy." The development of space law can contribute to the implementation of deterrence strategies.

Craven, John P. (Bureau of Naval Weapons) The Design of Weapons Systems for an Arms Control Environment (Article, Journal of Arms Control, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1963). Discusses the role of the weapons system designer in creating military strength consistent with the goal of arms control. "The characteristics which are designed into any particular system inevitably affect the freedom of choices of the policy-maker in his use of the weapons system."

Dougherty, James E. (St. Joseph's College) The Disarmament Debate: A Review of Current Literature (Article, Orbis, Part II, Winter 1962). Continuation of an article which dealt with the literature on the technical problems of inspection of disarmament. Part II is concerned primarily with arms control, especially, the subject of "stable deterrence."

Ferguson, Allen R. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Disarmament and Deterrence (Pamphlet, RAND Corporation, April 1962). Brings up some of the questions relevant to disarmament and suggests some avenues for discussion and serious future work. Conflicts within the Eastern and Western groups, the emergence of new states, the existence of nuclear weapons, important as they are, are not the central source of danger. The dominant aspect of East-West relations is the conflict of political objectives between the Soviet Bloc and the democracies. The danger is that general nuclear war will result as a consequence of this grave conflict of political interests backed by devastating power.

Finkelstein, Lawrence S. (Harvard University) Defense, Disarmament, and World Order (Article, Behind the Headlines, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, September 1962)

Fryklund, Richard (Washington Star, Washington, D.C.) 100 Million Lives, Maximum Survival in a Nuclear War (Book, Macmillan, 1962). An appeal for a more humanitarian approach to nuclear war strategy in the face of the absence of any system of safe, inspected, world disarmament.

Gareau, Frederick H., ed. (University of Mississippi) The Balance of Power and Nuclear Deterrence (Book, Houghton Mifflin, 1962). A series of essays which deal with the doctrines of the balance of power and nuclear deterrence, and present a variety of opinion surrounding the two theories.

George, James B. (Raytheon Company) U.S. Overseas Bases in a Changing Strategic Environment (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). Examines military, political and economic utilities associated with fixed overseas bases in fourteen environmental contexts, and compares them with the utilities of four other types of bases in the same contexts. Areas available for U.S. unilateral arms control actions regarding overseas bases, as constrained by legal, political, and military-security factors are then defined, and some potential uses of the criteria developed in the study are given.

Goldwin, Robert A. (University of Chicago) America Armed (Book, Rand McNally, 1963). A selection of essays intended to provide clarification and guidance in the national policy debate over military power, disarmament and arms control.

Gordon, Bernard K. (Vanderbilt University) Nuclear Weapons: Russian and American (Article, Current History, May 1962). A discussion of the effects of nuclear weapons generally and an assessment against that background of the Soviet-American strategic forces. Both countries are roughly comparable in the vulnerability of their population to nuclear attacks of the same size. A 4,000 megaton attack using ground bursts might kill 40% of the people of either nation. The nuclear stockpiles necessary to wreak this havoc exist on both sides of the iron curtain. Each side must build forces far in excess of the number simply required "to do the job."

Halperin, Morton H. (Harvard University) Deterrence and Local War (Report, August 1962). Prepared under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. Assesses the viability of a direct defense strategy in relation to alternative and complementary local area strategies.

Halperin, Morton H. (Harvard University) Limited War in the Nuclear Age (Research, 1962). Examines the process by which local wars have been kept limited, and how a general war might also be limited. To be published as a study by the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Halperin Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R00290018-3
(Article, New Republic, October 8, 1962). Argues that the new strategy is not necessarily a first-strike strategy, does not increase the danger of pre-emptive war, and need not accelerate the arms race indefinitely nor preclude arms control or disarmament. It is merely an attempt to limit damage if nuclear war comes.

Huddle, Franklin P. (Hughes Research Laboratories, Malibu, California) Military Aspects of Independent Initiative in Arms Control (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962). The Soviets accept our messages of tension reduction as an invitation to step up their own efforts to encourage and support "wars of national liberation." The author proposes a program of military initiatives concerned with the preservation of a stable, restrained, deliberate, flexibly organized system of deterrence; blunting by peaceful means, but with force available if needed, the Soviet program of systematic subversion.

Knorr, Klaus and Thornton Read, ed. (Princeton University) Limited Strategic War (Book, Praeger, 1962). A collection of essays by well known scholars, dealing with the problems of limited strategic war. In essence, an attempt to "tame" nuclear wars.

Lefever, Ernest W., ed. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) Arms and Arms Control (Book, Praeger, 1962). A symposium designed to provide a balanced presentation of some recent writings on the subject of arms control; the contributors being established scholars in the field. A selected bibliography of materials on arms control is appended.

Loosbrock, John F. (Air Force and Space Digest) Strategic Retreat from Reality (Article, Air Force and Space Digest, January 1963). The doctrine of nuclear deterrence is being replaced by a doctrine of nuclear stalemate. The strategic umbrella is being replaced by a strategic ceiling -- rigid, immovable, and possibly brittle. The current trend in strategy and force composition is really narrowing rather than widening the number of options that will be available between surrender and holocaust, through the rigidity and limitation of the choice of weapons in nuclear general-war forces.

Milburn, Thomas W. (U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California) Deterrent Processes -- Psychological and Political Premises (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Essay on the contribution of psychology to the understanding of the U.S. policy of deterrence and the prevention of the growth of small wars.

Newman, James R. The Rule of Folly (Book, Simon and Schuster, 1962). A collection of articles, published in the period 1954-1962, dealing with the threat of a catastrophic nuclear war.

Osgood, Charles E. (University of Illinois) Questioning Some Unquestioned Assumptions About National Defense (Article, Journal of Arms Control, January 1963). A discussion of various assumptions about the nature of political man, deterrence, and nonviolent alternatives. Suggests that fruitful policies may result from questioning these assumptions.

Phelps, John (Institute for Defense Analysis) ~~Approved for Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3~~ary Stability and Arms Control: A Critical Survey (Report, 1962). Prepared under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. Analyzes the dependence of strategic stability on weapons, questions the usefulness of stability as an analytic tool in considering and evaluating measures to enhance military security, and examines the trend toward relative strategic stability for the period 1965-1970.

Phipps, Thomas E. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) The Case for Deterrence (Article, Current History, May 1962). Deterrence in itself is pointless and dangerous. Deterrence must form a consistent part of a reasoned over-all plan of political evolution for the U.S., its opponents, and the world at large. Other parts of the same plan may involve unilateral cessation of the arms race (but not disarmament), provision of adequate limited war forces within the ethos of a commensurate-response conditioning program for the opponent, renunciation of the "defended posture" and the "counterforce mission."

Ponturo, John (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) The Deterrence of Limited Aggression: Strategic and Nonstrategic Interactions (Article, Orbis, January 1963). Deals with the effect of arms control and unilateral defense measures in reducing the threat of limited aggression short of all-out attack upon the U.S. The psychological significance of "superiority" cannot be easily dismissed. "The importance of relative military strength in international relations is deeply imbedded in the habits of thought and action of statesmen."

Possony, Stefan T. (Stanford University) Toward Nuclear Isolationism? (Article, Orbis, January 1963). By itself, the U.S. cannot hope to implement an adequate "strategy of supremacy" which will bend downward the curve of conflict probability (at least without drastically curtailing domestic consumption and investment). A task of this magnitude "can be handled effectively only by NATO as a whole."

Russett, Bruce M. (Yale University) The Calculus of Deterrence (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. VII, 1963)

Schelling, Thomas C. (Harvard University) The Role of Deterrence in Total Disarmament (Article, Foreign Affairs, April 1962). Success of arms control and disarmament depends on mutual deterrence. "Disarmament" did not preclude U.S. participation in World War II, it just slowed it down. War will have to be made unprofitable, it cannot be made impossible.

Schilling, Warner (Columbia University) Weapons, Doctrine and Arms Control: The Good Old Days (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Singer, **Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3**
Disarmament: Towards a Synthesis in National Security Policy (Book, Ohio State University Press, 1962). In terms of national policy, the armers, disarmers, and more recently, the arms controllers have tended to regard one another with disdain and distrust. However, deterrence, disarmament and arms control must be dealt with in terms of a single context. The author considers these three viewpoints simply as different facets of a single problem: national security in the nuclear-missile era.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Soviet and American Foreign Policy Attitudes: A Content Analysis of Elite Articulations (Report, July 1962). Prepared under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. To be published as part of the "Studies in Deterrence" series. Provides information on the operational codes of the foreign policy elites in the USSR and the U.S. Aims at eliciting data concerning the views of these two elites in regard to four basic issues: (1) their image of the international environment; (2) their evaluation of the power balance; (3) their evaluation of the other's operational code; and (4) their evaluation of their own operational code.

Teller, Edward and Allen Brown. The Legacy of Hiroshima (Book, Doubleday and Company, 1962). The concept of all-out war as a cataclysm if false. World War III will not destroy mankind, but the U.S. could be destroyed if it is not prepared. In a dangerous world the U.S. cannot have peace unless it is strong.

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) The Limits of Defense (Book, Doubleday and Company, 1962). An inquiry into the requirements of liberty in the nuclear age. It is a radical criticism of current defense policies. The author wants to conserve American society as a going concern. He examines various theories of deterrence put forward by the rival services and by the industrial and intellectual allies of each.

Wildavsky, Aaron B. (Oberlin College) Nuclear Clubs or Nuclear Wars (Article, Yale Review, March 1962). The policy of the U.S. should be to give assistance or approval to selected small nations who wish to acquire atomic weapons. It is worth risking an increase in the probability of atomic accident, if by so doing the U.S. gains a decrease in the probability of total war. It is worth enduring occasional difficulties from nations whose bargaining power has been increased through the possession of atomic weapons, if the U.S. can also increase the probability that they will maintain their independence.

Completed

Brody, Richard A. (Stanford University) Some Systemic Effects of the Spread of Nuclear Weapons Technology (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1963). An inter-nation simulation was used to study the effect of an increase in the number of nations with nuclear capability (Nth-country problem). Multiple iterations of this man-machine simulation were used to confirm a theory of the probable effect of the Nth-nation situation on the cohesion of the two major alliances in the cold war bipolarity. The data tend to confirm the predictions in the theoretical model. The bloc-alliances tend to 'fragment'. The dissertation will be published by Journal of Conflict Resolution.

Kalkstein, Marvin (Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories, Bedford, Massachusetts) Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Article, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, 1963). The Nth country problem is serious, but not as immediate or great as is often contended. It may offer impetus toward getting disarmament measures.

Lefever, Ernest W., ed. (Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D.C.) Arms and Arms Control (Book, Praeger, 1962). A symposium designed to provide a balanced presentation of some recent writings on the subject of arms control; the contributors being established scholars in the field. A selected bibliography of materials on arms control is appended.

Spingarn, Jerome H. (U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) New Approaches to Disarmament (Pamphlet, Foreign Policy Association, 1962). An "overview" of current Western thinking in the field of arms control, with primary emphasis placed on the Nth country problem. The greatest significance of this problem is the sense of urgency which it lends to the search for an early agreement on arms limitation or disarmament. As nuclear know-how spreads, and as arsenals of existing nuclear weapons and delivery systems are refined to further levels of terror, the workability of arms control and inspection fades. The spread of nuclear weapons could be a destabilizing factor which would increase the danger of war and decrease the likelihood of arms control.

NUCLEAR TEST-BAN NEGOTIATIONS

In Progress

Jacobson, Harold K. (University of Michigan) and Eric Stein. The Test Ban Negotiations: A Case Study in the Interaction of Science and Diplomacy (Research, ECD-Unknown)

Zoppo, Ciro E. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) The Test Ban Conference: A Study in Arms Control Negotiation (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-1964)

Completed

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Bohn, Lewis C. Non Physical Inspection of a Nuclear Test Ban (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Feld, Bernard T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Atmospheric Testing (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, January 1962). Warns against the danger of the U.S. losing sight of the main issues because of an emotional reaction to the cynicism of the USSR's unilateral abrogation of the unofficial "moratorium" on nuclear weapons tests. Examines the reasons why the U.S. was willing to adhere to a voluntary, uninspected moratorium during three years of frustrating negotiations and argues that the U.S. was the first to announce that it no longer felt bound by the moratorium. Claims that the U.S. would gain from a mutual moratorium on the development of defensive, giant-size nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union could then carry out atmospheric tests only at the expense of abrogating the treaty.

Inglis, David R. (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois) Lessons from the Resumption of Nuclear Testing (Article, War Peace Report, July 1962)

Inglis, David R. (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois) On Resuming Nuclear Tests (Article, New Republic, February 20, 1962)

Jack, Homer (SANE) Non-alignment and a Test Ban Agreement (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, New York. Disarmament at the UN; Geneva Disarmament Conference (Memoranda, National Sane, 1963). A discussion of the progress and dynamics of the disarmament and test-ban debate at the U.N. General Assembly and the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Spingarn, Jerome H. (U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) New Approaches to Disarmament (Pamphlet, Foreign Policy Association, 1962). An "overview" of current Western thinking in the field of arms control, with primary emphasis placed on the Nth country problem. The greatest significance of this problem is the sense of urgency which it lends to the search for an early agreement on arms limitation or disarmament. As nuclear know-how spreads, and as arsenals of existing nuclear weapons and delivery systems are refined to further levels of terror, the workability of arms control and inspection fades. The spread of nuclear weapons could be a destabilizing factor which would increase the danger of war and decrease the likelihood of arms control.

PEACE RESEARCH

In Progress

Crain, Clark N. (University of Denver) Some Alternatives to War (Paper, ECD-1963). Holds that if as much money and effort could be made available for this approach as there is available to study ways of making war, some progress might be expected.

North, Robert (Stanford University) Studies in International Conflict and Integration (Research, ECD-Unknown). Consists of interdisciplinary research and training in factors associated with the outbreak of war and the escalation of small wars into large wars. The studies are also concerned with the identification of alternatives to war. The undertaking has already yielded numerous journal articles and chapters in symposia.

Pruitt, Dean G. (University of Delaware) Studies of Intergroup Negotiation (Research, ECD-Unknown). An ongoing research project in which negotiation processes are being studied in laboratory settings.

Rhyne, Russell F. (Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, California) Future Character of Insurrection and the Associated Problems of Internal Defense Forces in Violent and Non-violent Operations (Research, ECD-Unknown). A projection of plausible developments in the major strategic determinants of local, tactical decisions in the field of conflict near the threshold of violence. Such determinants include weapons technology, power polarization, growth of national cohesion, local and interregional economic patterns, indigenous military capabilities and relations to society, U.S. national interests and strategy, arms control. From these considerations and constraints, some of the plausible lines of development of low-intensity armed conflict and the related requirements for internal security will be inferred.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Arms Control and Disarmament (Article, ECD-1963). A critical survey of the research literature and policy behavior of nations in the arms control and disarmament field. To be published in Encyclopedia of Social Science, 1964.

Zawodny, Janusz K. (University of Pennsylvania) The Reductive Approach in International Relations: Psychology of Human Violence and Non-violence in Problem Solving (Book, ECD-1963). A designation of categories of environmental and psychological variables conducive to violent and non-violent, cooperative and non cooperative human behavior on three levels: (1) nation-state, (2) group dynamics, and (3) personality dynamics.

Completed

Bolton, C.D. (University of California, Davis) What the Peace Movement Needs (Article, The Nation, January 27, 1962). Disarmament can, and must be worked out with a minimal modification of the existing UN structure. Some system or world law must eventually evolve to handle genuine conflicts of interest between nations. In a world where real grievances between nations can deteriorate into war, amounting to an overthrowing of disarmament, disarmament must be regarded as a beginning, and not the solution to the problem of war.

Bristol, James E. (American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia) Nonviolence as a Positive Concept (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Holds that "the believer in nonviolence" wants to see an end to injustice, tyranny, corruption and the exploitation of men by their fellows. Anguish and suffering are "taken upon one's self and not visited upon an opponent."

Coser, Lewis A. (Brandeis University) Disfunctions of Secrecy (Article, 1963). Presented at International Arms Control Symposium, Ann Arbor, December 1962, argues that secrecy destabilizes international relations in the nuclear age. Only a strategy of disclosure, rather than one of secrecy, can lead to the avoidance of violent struggle.

Research on Psychological Factors in Peace and War (Pamphlet, Eastern Psychological Association, 1962). An attempt to define and examine some of the psychological premises underlying discussions on peace and war. The booklet orients the reader to the background and goals of the research project, describes the coding system, and invites collaboration of other psychologists reading in the area of psychological factors in war and peace.

Hicks, Bruce L. (University of Illinois) Education via Dialogues - Its Application to Arms Control Studies and Teaching (Report, Coordinated Science Laboratory, University of Illinois, 1962). A preliminary study of the use of tape recording of dialogues in connection with information transmittal.

Larson, Arthur (Duke University) Toward a Warless World (Article, Saturday Review, May 12, 1962). Disarmament must be followed by the erection of peace-keeping machinery to take its place, until eventually the peace is kept by a system of international law and tribunals backed by an unchallengeable international force. As a prelude to the establishment of such a system, much "homework" in the form of research in the problems of peace is necessary. Such research would do much to remove the fear of insecurity which looms large, and would also give some idea of the variety, extent and range of the positive benefits that would flow from disarmament under law.

Larson, Arthur, ed. (Duke University) A Warless World (Book, 1963). An intensive analysis of the problems of security, change, economics, cultural and spiritual effects - if disarmament were achieved.

Linebarger, Paul (Johns Hopkins University) The Organizational Problem of Peace (Article, World Affairs, Vol. 125, No. 1, Spring 1962). Examines definitions and problems of peace. "We ourselves will not solve the problem of peace, nor shall we live long enough, even if we postpone war, to know whether the many problems of peace have reached some partial answers."

McClure, Wallace (Duke University) Disarmament and Individuals (Article, 1963). A study of how a disarmament treaty could be enforced against individuals and firms: what treaty clauses would apply; constitutional question of enforceability with or without implementing legislation; kinds of offenses likely to occur; general problems of enforcing disarmament through actions against individuals.

Martin, Lawrence W. (Johns Hopkins University) Political Settlements and Arms Control (Article, Current History, May 1962). The starting premise is that political settlements and arms control are closely linked. Amazingly little attention has been given to the unilateral influences we might employ in a disarmed world, to the international machinery that might be necessary and, in general, to the pattern of politics in such a world. The cold war and a host of other disputes would persist and we must therefore give some thought to the ways in which we would defend our interests.

Morton, Louis and Gene M. Lyons (Dartmouth College) The Intellectual Response to the Cold War (Book, 1963). An analysis of the peace movement.

North, Rob ~~Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3~~ of Certain Perseverant Behaviors in International Relations (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Starts with the premise that large-scale violence is no longer a viable extension of politics and diplomacy. Contends that further research is badly needed into alternate forms of conflict which will enable states to protect and pursue their interests without resort to large-scale destruction.

Osgood, Charles E. (University of Illinois) Questioning Some Unquestioned Assumptions About National Defense (Article, Journal of Arms Control, January 1963). A discussion of various assumptions about the nature of political man, deterrence, and nonviolent alternatives. Suggests that fruitful policies may result from questioning these assumptions.

Rubin, Bernard (Boston University) Truths to Defeat War (Article, Contemporary Review, England, Summer 1962). An analysis of the problem of applying 'war games' approaches to the struggle for peace.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Peace Research and Peace Action: A Survey (Article, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, January 1963). An informal survey of academics (physical and social science) engaged in the conduct or utilization of "peace research."

Steadman, Monte G. (Committee for Non-Violent Action, Corte Madera, California) Nonviolent Resolution of Conflict (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Advocates non-violence as a way of life and of resolving conflicts. However, for non-violence to be effective, it is necessary for all those who do not share in the depressed conditions that exist in the world to accept part of the suffering and to work co-operatively to relieve it.

Wadsworth, James J. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) The Price of Peace (Book, Praeger, 1962)

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) Factors Relevant to Political Control of an International Police Force (Paper, 1963). Recommendations to ACDA for possible fruitful policy lines and useful research on problems of political control of an international police force in a disarmed world.

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) Non-lethal Equivalents of War (Paper, 1962). An examination of historical cases of intense pursuit of group or national conflict without resort to war or mob violence. The means by which such structuring of conflict has been or could be arranged are also investigated.

Waskow, Arthur I. (Peace Research Institute, Washington, D.C.) The Place of Hostility and Conflict in a Disarmed World (Article, 1963). An examination of ways in which disarmament might be enforced without arranging for "peaceful" or "lawful" resolution of international conflicts; also ways in which such conflicts could be carried on without war, and examination of effects of disarmament on the level of personal hostilities within nations. Proposals for research. To be published by Science and Psychoanalysis, June 1963.

In Progress

Armacost, Michael H. (Pomona College) The Long Range Missiles: A Case Study of Weapons Innovations in the Cold War (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-1964). Describes the nature of the political process by which a new major weapons system is innovated. Also analyzes the attitudes of politically significant groups in this country toward scientific research and its application for military purposes.

Goldman, Ralph M. (San Francisco State College) The Political Context of Disarmament: A Systems Approach (Book, ECD-1963). Sketches an application of Homans' paradigm of exchange behaviors to decision-maker interactions within the framework of five political sub-systems: governmental organization, power dispersion, dissent, weapons management, and leadership selection. This theory sketch lays foundation for future empirical research by author and Institute for Research on International Behavior at San Francisco State College.

Goldstein, Walter (Brooklyn College) Political Control of Foreign, Military and Scientific Policy (Book, ECD-1964). An empirical attempt to compare the types of problems encountered in the political control of technical issues, as experienced recently in Britain and the USA.

Johnson, John J. (Stanford University) The Political Role of the Military (Book, ECD-1963)

Puckett, Robert H. (Mary Washington College) American National Space Policy: An Analysis of Civilian-military Interests in Space (Article, ECD-1964). An investigation of the evolution of present American space policy with special emphasis given to the interests of the groups which have influenced the formulation of this policy: i.e., the scientific community, space-related industries, and the military.

Rosen, Sumner (Harvard University) Economic and Political Implications of Disarmament for the U.S. (Book, ECD-1963)

Completed

Cory, Robert (United Nations) Images of U.S. Disarmament Policy in the International Negotiating System (Paper, International Arms Control Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Gilpin, Robert (Harvard University) American Scientists and Nuclear Weapons Policy (Book, Princeton University Press, 1962). A discussion of the increasingly important role natural scientists are playing in the field of national policy.

Goldman, Ralph (San Francisco State College) Internationalizing Domestic Politics: An Aspect of Arms Control Negotiations (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Heinricks, W.H., Jr. (Johns Hopkins University) American Arms Policy: Hiroshima to the Lucky Dragon (Book, Houghton Mifflin, 1963). A study of the security factors leading to a rigid negotiating position on arms control, with particular emphasis on the Baruch Plan.

Kassalow, Everett (Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.)
The Nuclear Arms Race and Budgets (Paper, Foreign Affairs Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Lawrence, Robert M. The Political Realities of Disarmament (Ph.D., University of Kansas, 1962)

Levine, Robert A. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) The Arms Debate (Book, Harvard University Press, 1963). An analysis of the spectrum of positions on U.S. military policy, including arms control.

Milburn, Thomas W. (U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California) Deterrent Processes -- Psychological and Political Premises (Paper, Foreign Affairs Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Essay on the contribution of psychology to an understanding of the U.S. policy of deterrence and the prevention of the growth of small wars.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Deterrence, Arms Control and Disarmament: Towards a Synthesis in National Security Policy (Book, Ohio State University Press, 1962). In terms of national policy, the armers, disarmers, and more recently, the arms controllers have tended to regard one another with disdain and distrust. However, deterrence, disarmament and arms control must be dealt with in terms of a single context. The author considers these three viewpoints simply as different facets of a single problem: national security in the nuclear-missile era.

Smith, Alice K. (Radcliffe College) American Scientists and International Control of Atomic Energy--1945 to 1946 (Paper, Atomic Energy Commission, November 1962). A discussion of the efforts of American scientists to achieve some form of international control of atomic energy during the initial months of the nuclear era.

REGIONAL ASPECTS

General

Completed

Gude, Edward W., Davis Bobrow, and Clark C. Abt (Raytheon Company) Arms Control in the Developing Countries (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). A study of the application of arms control measures to the developing countries including the development of a crude quantitative construct for evaluating the impact of various arms control and foreign aid measures. Also discussed is a framework for analyzing the role of the military in developing countries. Two supplementary papers deal with the limits of civic action and the arms control environment of Southeast Asia.

Sohn, Louis B. (Harvard University) Zonal Disarmament and Inspection: Variations on a Theme (Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3 September 1962). No nation should reject the opportunity for exploring further the possibilities for progressive zonal disarmament and inspection until a better way is found to deal with the complex problem of the link between disarmament and inspection. A study of zonal disarmament and inspection on an intergovernmental level might lead to new proposals; however, what matters, is that the two sides should approach the problem in a spirit of mutual understanding of their respective preoccupations and anxieties. Once that spirit manifests itself, the technical solution will not be far behind.

Africa

Completed

Frisch, D.H. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) A Proposal for an African and Near Eastern Zone Free from Weapons of Mass Destruction (Article, Journal of Arms Control, 1963).

Asia

Completed

Hsieh, Alice L. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Communist China's Strategy in the Nuclear Era (Book, Prentice-Hall, 1962). An examination of Communist China's pattern of behavior in a nuclear environment. The official position of the Red Chinese on proposals for an atom-free zone in the Far East and the Pacific is ambivalent; the Chinese being unwilling to commit themselves unconditionally to restrictions on nuclear weapons.

Latin America

In Progress

Glick, Edward B. (Systems Development Corporation, Washington, D.C.) Regional Arms Control in Latin America (Research, ECD-Unknown)

Middle East

Completed

Frisch, D.H. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) A Proposal for an African and Near Eastern Zone Free from Weapons of Mass Destruction (Article, Journal of Arms Control, 1963).

Completed

Davy, Grant R. Canada's Role in the Disarmament Negotiations, 1946-1957
(Ph.D., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1962)

Western Europe

In Progress

Lawson, Ruth C. (Mount Holyoke College) NATO and the Problem of Western European Security (Book, ECD-1963). An analysis of NATO as a security organization in the context of traditional thinking concerning collective security, and necessary modifications in such thinking as required by the evolution of effective collective defense organizations.

Myers, Frank. The "Ban-the-Bomb" Campaign in Britain: Its History and Political Impact (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-Unknown)

Completed

Abt, Clark, Morton Gorden, Vahakn Dadrian and Edward Gude (Raytheon Company) The European Arms Control Environment (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). Describes the major European arms control and deterrent and alternative defense postures; also suggests some changes that would improve defensive capability without increasing the risk of war or an arms race. The question of U.S. nuclear sharing with allies is examined. A preliminary discussion of means by which NATO might integrate both national and multilateral nuclear forces is given.

Munk, Frank (Reed College) The Future of the Atlantic Community (Book, 1963). An investigation of the basic values, historical development, and present structure of the Atlantic Community, and alternatives for further implementation in the economic, military and political spheres.

Schelling, Thomas C. (Harvard University) Nuclear Strategy in Europe (Article, World Politics, April 1962). Examines the possibility that limited wars may lead to general war. "General war does not depend on our coolly deciding to retaliate punitively for the invasion of Western Europe after careful consideration of the material and spiritual arguments pro and con." It can result from any number of mistaken beliefs or misunderstandings.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In Progress

Basiuk, Victor (Columbia University) Technological Change and the Balance of Power, 1870- (Book, ECD-1964). An analysis of the impact of technological change on the power positions of the major nations between 1870 and the present. Among the areas of technology covered are steel, electricity, transportation, chemistry, armaments, non-ferrous metals, atomic and other sources of energy. The study attempts to establish trends for the future and their implications for American foreign policy. The implications of the present technological trends for arms control are also discussed.

Jacob, Phyllis (Editor) ~~Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R00290018-3~~ ^{Political Value Change in International Policymaking: Impact of Scientific and Technological Knowledge (Monographs, ECD-1964)}

Jacobson, Harold K. (University of Michigan) and Eric Stein. The Test Ban Negotiations: A Case Study in the Interaction of Science and Diplomacy (Research, ECD-Unknown)

Puckett, Robert H. (Mary Washington College) American National Space Policy: An Analysis of Civilian-Military Interests in Space (Article, ECD-1964). An investigation of the evolution of present American space policy with special emphasis given to the interests of the groups which have influenced the formulation of this policy: i.e., the scientific community, space-related industries, and the military.

Schwartz, Leonard E. (Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, California) Directory of International Space Science and Technology (Directory, ECD-1963). A comprehensive listing of scientists, technicians and social scientists from the United States and fourteen other space-age nations, with biographical sketches of each nominee based on his contribution to space affairs. Also included is a section on government agencies, research institutes, and foundations involved in space activities; and national and international organizations, both governmental and non governmental, concerned with outer space.

Smith, Alice K. (Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study, Cambridge, Massachusetts) Political and Educational Activities of American Scientists, 1945-1947 (Book, ECD-1963)

Completed

Abt, Clark C. (Raytheon Company) The Problems and Possibilities of Space Arms Control (Article, Journal of Arms Control, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1963). Discusses the relation between the development of space weapons and the requirements for including them under an arms control agreement, with reference to the usefulness of such weapons under varying strategies and the problems involved in subjecting these weapons to international control.

Craven, John P. (Bureau of Naval Weapons) The Design of Weapons Systems for an Arms Control Environment (Article, Journal of Arms Control, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1963). Discusses the role of the weapons system designer in creating military strength consistent with the goal of arms control. "The characteristics which are designed into any particular system inevitably affect the freedom of choices of the policy-maker in his use of the weapons system."

Davis, Robert H. (System Development Corporation) Arms Control Gaming: The Search for Meaningful Experimental Methodology (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Gilpin, Robert (Harvard University) American Scientists and Nuclear Weapons Policy (Book, Princeton University Press, 1962). A discussion of the increasingly important role natural scientists are playing in the field of national policy.

Inglis, David M., et al. (Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois)

Argonne-FAS Discussion Group on Black Boxes (Paper, 1963). An independent study of the spoofing of "black boxes"; that is, sealed automatic seismographs, and counter-spoofing techniques. The authors conclude that above-ground units can be made reliable if the installation is inspected before and after the period monitored or if the unit is equipped to photograph its environment or, preferably, both.

Kassalow, Everett (Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.)
The Nuclear Arms Race and Budgets (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Knorr, Klaus (Princeton University) Contributions of United States Industry to Arms Control Research (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Leontief, Wassily (Harvard University) Disarmament and Alternative Uses of Economic Resources: A Quantitative Assessment (Paper, American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 1962). Soviet defense expenditures are probably considerably smaller than ours, however, they absorb a higher proportion of their national income. Since the USSR is still a developing economy, disarmament will open the possibility of using the resources set free for the satisfaction of correspondingly increased non-military civilian demand. In the United States, with its fully developed economy, the advent of disarmament would create more difficult problems. For some time the American economy has averaged a growth rate of only about 2.5% per annum, making an automatic absorption of resources released through reduction of military demand by rapidly expanding general civilian demand impossible to count on. Disarmament would also result in the dislocation of many families, due to the necessity of finding new jobs and the uneven distribution of various industries throughout the country.

Melman, Seymour (Columbia University) Problems of Industrial Conversion Under Disarmament (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Melman, Seymour (Columbia University) To Make Disarmament Real (Article, Current History, May 1962). The United States can use its still unmatched production power as an instrument for winning a world victory for peace with freedom. The production power of the United States, instead of military power, can be used as a strategic instrument. For the United States, starting the peace race does not require that the arms race be ended as a precondition. In order to compete in a peace race, the Soviets will be compelled to seek disarmament. Differences in economic power can be turned into major political assets.

Nadler, Eugene (Case Institute of Technology) Problems of Conversion in Current Trends of the Arms Race (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Nelson, Richard R. The Impact of Arms Reduction on Research and Development (Paper, American Economic Association, December 1962). Arms reduction would have a major impact on research and development. However, disarmament would be only a short-run problem in any case, as research and development are among the fastest growing activities in the American economy. The Federal government could easily help to mitigate the economic effects of disarmament by such policies as stepping up peacetime space programs, or facilitating the transfer of scientific resources to projects advancing civilian technology.

Approved For Release 2002/11/22 : CIA-RDP80B01676R002900290018-3
Rapoport, Anatol (University of Michigan) Formal Games as Probing Tools for
Investigating Behavior Motivated by Trust or Suspicion (Paper,
International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December
1962)

Schilling, Charles (American Institute of Biological Science, Washington,
D.C.) Biological Impact of Nuclear War (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting,
American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Smith, Alice K. (Radcliffe College) American Scientists and International
Control of Atomic Energy--1945 to 1946 (Paper, Atomic Energy
Commission, November 1962). A discussion of the efforts of American
scientists to achieve some form of international control of atomic
energy during the initial months of the nuclear era.

SOCIAL ASPECTS

Completed

Bluestone, Irving (United Automobile Workers) The Responsibility of the
Government for Manpower Planning in Disarmament (Paper, International
Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Dentler, Robert A. (Columbia University) Urban Welfare and the Post-
Disarmament Economy (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American
Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Explores
the urban political economy under the assumption that sound international
agreements have been obtained and that the new challenge for the nation
is to adapt to the economic reorganization that must follow from
disarmament. Argues for federal support and management of greatly
expanded welfare programs in central cities.

Etzioni, Amitai (Columbia University) The Gradualist Way to Peace (Paper,
Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association,
Washington, D.C., March 1963). A treatment of the sociological and
political principles that underlie the platform of the American Faculty
Council for the Gradualist Way to Peace.

Kassalow, Everett (Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.)
The Nuclear Arms Race and Budgets (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting,
American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Leontief, Wassily (Harvard University) Disarmament and Alternative Uses of
Economic Resources: A Quantitative Assessment (Paper, American
Association for the Advancement of Science meeting, December 1962).
Soviet defense expenditures are probably considerably smaller than ours,
however, they absorb a higher proportion of their national income.
Since the USSR is still a developing economy, disarmament will open the
possibility of using the resources set free for the satisfaction of
correspondingly increased non-military civilian demand. In the United
States, with its fully developed economy, the advent of disarmament
would create more difficult problems. For some time the American economy
has averaged a growth rate of only about 2.5% per annum, making an
automatic absorption of resources released through reduction of military
demand by rapidly expanding general civilian demand impossible to count
on. Disarmament would also result in the dislocation of many families,
due to the necessity of finding new jobs and the uneven distribution of
various industries throughout the country.

Melman, Seymour, ed. (Columbia University) Disarmament: Its Politics and Economics (Book, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1962). Represents a symposium of the thinking of established scholars in the arms control and disarmament field. Reflects the current range of points of view on the subject, with special emphasis on new and unconventional, but plausible approaches. Recent discussion has focused on disarmament, and considerably more attention has been given to the economic and political aspects of the problem, as distinct from the purely military.

Melman, Seymour (Columbia University) Problems of Industrial Conversion Under Disarmament (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Melman, Seymour (Columbia University) To Make Disarmament Real (Article, Current History, May 1962). The United States can use its still unmatched production power as an instrument for winning a world victory for peace with freedom. The production power of the United States, instead of military power, can be used as a strategic instrument. For the United States, starting the peace race does not require that the arms race be ended as a precondition. In order to compete in a peace race, the Soviets will be compelled to seek disarmament. Differences in economic power can be turned into major political assets.

Merriam, Ida C. (Social Security Administration, Washington, D.C.) Social Welfare Opportunities and Necessities Attendant upon Disarmament (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). Sees in disarmament an opportunity to wipe out poverty in the U.S. Thirty-five million persons are living below reasonable minimum levels, the dollars freed by disarmament could move the United States to a new level of general welfare.

Nadler, Eugene (Case Institute of Technology) Problems of Conversion in Current Trends of the Arms Race (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

Schilling, Charles (American Institute of Biological Science, Washington, D.C.) Biological Impact of Nuclear War (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

SOVIET BLOC: FOREIGN POLICY, MILITARY STRATEGY AND DISARMAMENT

Completed

Berkes, Ross N. (University of Southern California) American Fears of the Soviet Union (Article, Current History, May 1962). An analysis of the Soviet pressures upon the United States. The Soviet Union uses disarmament proposals as a potent and useful instrument of political warfare or as a trap to waylay unwary American military power. The ultimate result of the balance of terror has been to encourage the Soviet Union to take more risks. With so many new nations underdeveloped, unviable, insecure, and yet ambitious, this will increasingly become the age not only of the balance of terror but also of instability. Instability spells opportunity for international communism, and the Krushchevian interpretation of opportunity will be to support, covertly but actively, local wars. A reassessment of the Soviet menace is in order.

Clemens, Walter C., Jr. (University of California, Santa Barbara) Lenin on Disarmament (Paper, Far Western Slavic Conference, Seattle, Washington, April 1962). Puts forth the thesis that Lenin's position on disarmament before and after the Bolshevik Revolution was not contradictory, but entirely consonant with a standard laid down by him in 1916. The author suggests that the primary motive of Soviet disarmament propaganda has been political: to keep the capitalist world divided and off balance, while demonstrating to the masses the impossibility of disarmament under capitalism and, consequently the need for a communist revolution.

Crane, Robert D. (Duke University) Soviet Attitudes Toward International Space Law (Article, American Journal of International Law, Vol. 56, No. 3, July 1962). Holds that the Soviets now consider that modern war can and must be avoided. The Soviets have made a fundamental shift in their approach to international law, exchanging a defensive for an offensive strategy aimed at replacing in its entirety traditional international law designed to serve "capitalist" interests with a new international law designed to serve international communism. They consider that the balance of space power is strongly weighted in their favor and that, accordingly the possibilities of developing "communist" law are promising.

Dinerstein, Herbert S. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Soviet Goals and Military Force (Article, Orbis, Vol. IV, No. 4, Winter 1962). Examines the Soviet use of military power for political purposes. Suggests that weaponry, both nuclear and conventional, will continue to play an important role in international relations, even though it may be claimed that nuclear weapons have "cancelled themselves out."

Garthoff, Raymond L. (U.S. Department of State) Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age (Book, Praeger, rev. ed., 1962). Study of the Soviet strategic concepts developed under the influence of the thermonuclear era, with projections into 1970 and beyond. Soviet strategy is developing and taking full advantage of new scientific, technological, and weapons potentialities. The new political strategic concept of deterrence plus pressure is accompanied by military preparation for any kind of war. This requires a large and balanced military establishment, which the Soviets maintain.

Gordon, Bernard K. (Vanderbilt University) Nuclear Weapons: Russian and American (Article, Current History, May 1962). A discussion of the effects of nuclear weapons generally and an assessment against that background of the Soviet-American strategic forces. Both countries are roughly comparable in the vulnerability of their population to nuclear attacks of the same size. A 4,000 megaton attack using ground bursts might kill 40% of the people of either nation. The nuclear stockpiles necessary to wreak this havoc exist on both sides of the iron curtain. Each side must build forces far in excess of the number simply required "to do the job." Both sides feel that their security depends not only upon the forces still remaining after first suffering an attack. On balance, in the nuclear striking forces, the U.S. seems to be favored. The defender generally seems to benefit and the U.S. is certainly the defender. The USSR could possess an arsenal 10 times more powerful than the U.S. without possessing the military instruments of victory. This is the balance of terror.

Goure, Leon, et al (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Soviet Military Strategy (Book, Prentice-Hall, 1963). Translation of Marshal of The Soviet Union, V.D. Sokolovsky, Military Strategy, (Voentzdasb 1962), with extensive analysis, annotations and supplementary Soviet material, prepared in collaboration with Herbert S. Dinerstein, Thomas W. Wolfe, The RAND Corporation.

Jensen, Lloyd. The Disarmament Negotiations: A Study in American-Soviet Behavior (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1962)

Jensen, Lloyd (University of Illinois) and Joseph Nogee (University of Houston) Soviet-American Bargaining Behavior (Paper, International Arms Control Symposium, University of Michigan, December 1962)

North, Robert and Jan Triska (Stanford University) USSR-Chinese Relations: Cohesive and Conflictual Aspects (Report, March 1962). Prepared under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. To be published as part of the "Studies in Deterrence" series. Investigates the perceptual filters of the Soviet and Chinese Communist decision-makers through the collection and analysis of their statements of what they perceive.

Shulman, Marshall D. (Harvard University) Russia's Gambit on Disarmament (Article, New York Times Magazine, March 11, 1962). To follow the moves and counter-moves at Geneva, it is necessary to understand the role that arms play in the over-all Soviet strategy. Just as "the struggle for peace" in Soviet internal usage signifies the use of the "peace" issue as a weapon in the political struggle with the West, so must the slogan "general and complete disarmament" be understood as a political instrument.

Singer, J. David (University of Michigan) Soviet and American Foreign Policy Attitudes: A Content Analysis of Elite Articulations (Report, July 1962). Prepared under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. To be published as part of the "Studies in Deterrence" series. Provides information on the operational codes of the foreign policy elites in the USSR and the U.S. Aims at eliciting data concerning the views of these two elites in regard to four basic issues: (1) their image of the international environment; (2) their evaluation of the power balance; (3) their evaluation of the other's operational code; and (4) their evaluation of their own operational code.

Slusser, Robert M. (Johns Hopkins University) Soviet Policy Towards Disarmament, 1945-1962 (Article, 1962)

Spanier, John W. (University of Florida) and Joseph L. Nogee (University of Houston) The Politics of Disarmament: A Study in Soviet-American Gamesmanship (Book, Praeger, 1962). A study of the role of the American-Soviet disarmament negotiations in the diplomacy of the Cold War. The authors examine the tactics and political objectives of both contenders, viewing the disarmament negotiations as a complex part of the over-all struggle for power.

Zaninovich, M. George (Stanford University) The Sino-Soviet Theory of Conflict (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963). A survey of Communist theoretical writings. Draws the conclusion that Soviet thinkers view contradictions within the world environment as neither so prevalent nor so intense as do Chinese theorists.

In Progress

Christol, Carl Q. (University of Southern California) The International Law of Outer Space (Book, ECD-1963). An analysis of the principles and rules of international law applicable to outer space.

Crane, Robert D. (Duke University) Space Arms Control (Article, ECD-1963). A series of studies of the problems of space weapons in relation to arms control, with particular reference to Soviet plans and policies. An article on "Soviet Space Policy at the Crossroads" will soon be published.

Klette, Immanuel J. The International Relations Aspects of Outer Space (Ph.D., Georgetown University, ECD-1964)

Puckett, Robert H. (Mary Washington College) American National Space Policy: An Analysis of Civilian-military Interests in Space (Articles, ECD-1964). An investigation of the evolution of present American space policy with special emphasis given to the interests of the groups which have influenced the formulation of this policy: i.e., the scientific community, space-related industries, and the military.

Completed

Abt, Clark C. (Raytheon Company) The Problems and Possibilities of Space Arms Control (Article, Journal of Arms Control, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1963). Discusses the relation between the development of space weapons and the requirements for including them under an arms control agreement, with reference to the usefulness of such weapons under varying strategies and the problems involved in subjecting these weapons to international control.

Crane, Robert D. (Duke University) Law and Strategy in Space (Article, Orbis, Vol. VI, No. 2, Summer 1962). Examines the problems of military and ideological deterrence. "The realization that neither side can... win a modern war...has resulted in the development of deterrence as the principal aim of U.S. military policy." The development of space law can contribute to the implementation of our deterrence strategies.

Crane, Robert D. (Duke University) Soviet Attitudes Toward International Space Law (Article, American Journal of International Law, Vol. 56, No. 3, July 1962). Holds that the Soviets now consider that modern war can and must be avoided. The Soviets have made a fundamental shift in their approach to international law, exchanging a defensive for an offensive strategy aimed at replacing in its entirety traditional international law designed to serve "capitalist" interests with a new international law designed to serve international communism. They consider that the balance of space power is strongly weighted in their favor and that, accordingly the possibilities of developing "communist" law are promising.

Goldsen, Joseph M., ed. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Outer Space in World Politics (Book, Praeger, 1963)

THEORIES OF WAR

In Progress

Abt, Clark C. (Raytheon Company, Bedford, Massachusetts) Theories of Contemporary War (Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, ECD-1963). An analysis of contemporary theories of war origins, initiation, escalation, containment, and termination. Scholarly, historical, and fictional works on war and its causes covering the period 1945-1975 are examined and compared. An eclectic theory of the causes and nature of the most salient types of contemporary wars will be synthesized. To be published also as a book.

Brown, Seyom (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) A Universal Supranational Military Deterrent System (Ph.D., University of Chicago, ECD-Unknown)

Coats, W.J. Armed Forces as Power: The Theory of War Reconsidered (Ph.D., Georgetown University, ECD-1964)

Comfort, Kenneth J. The Development of Nuclear Weapons for Tactical Use: A Study in the Problems of Weapons Innovation (Ph.D., Columbia University, ECD-1963)

Donohue, Rev. Thomas C. (Creighton University) Ethics in Strategic Planning: Some Observations at the Intersection of War-gaming and Morality (Book, ECD-1963). An attempt to discover what revisions, if any, of the "traditional 'Just War Doctrine'" are necessary to make the doctrine relevant to current military strategy as conditioned by the revolution in military technology. On the basis of findings to date, several of the "conditions" demanded today seem to refer only to "offensive war" (Vitoria) or "aggressive war" (Suarez) and not to the defensive war planned for in current strategic thinking.

Naroll, Raoul, Freda Naroll, and Vern Bullough (Institute for Cross-Cultural Studies) Deterrence in History (Research, ECD-Unknown). Implemented under the auspices of Project Michelson, U.S. Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California. Project is continuing, and further extension is contemplated. To date, sixteen reports have been issued during the course of the study.

North, Robert C. (Stanford University) Studies in International Conflict and Integration (Research, ECD-Unknown). Consists of interdisciplinary research and training in factors associated with the outbreak of war and the escalation of small wars into large wars. The studies are also concerned with the identification of alternatives to war. The undertaking has already yielded numerous journal articles and chapters in symposia.

Tarr, Cedric W. Graduated Deterrence: The Use of Nuclear Weapons in Limited War (Ph.D., University of Southern California, ECD-Unknown)

Wright, Quincy (University of Virginia) International Conflict (Book, ECD-Unknown)

Abt, Clark C., Thomas O'Sullivan, Melvin M. Kessler and Vahakn Dadrian (Raytheon Company) Theoretical Aspects of Unilateral Arms Control (Report, Raytheon Company, January 1963). Analyzes some of the underlying theoretical problems of arms control doctrine, including assumptions about the nature of military and international conflict. Makes clear operational distinctions between intrinsic and reciprocal unilateral arms control; describes how and why wars began in recent history and extrapolates therefrom; outlines theory of alliance formation, and significance of alliances for war initiation, escalation, and termination. Discusses future problem areas.

Barber, Arthur W. (U.S. Department of Defense) Deterrents and Incentives: Analysis of the Use of the Threat of War to Prevent or Stimulate Behavior (Paper, Fortieth Annual Meeting, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1963)

Boulding, Kenneth E. (University of Michigan) Towards a Pure Theory of Threat Systems (Paper, American Economic Association, Pittsburgh, December 1962). Develops economic theory of threat systems to analyze the arms race in the present international situation. Postulates four responses to threat: submission, defiance, counter-threat, and integrative response. However, all threat systems have a long-run instability and tend to degenerate into deterrence, which cannot be continually successful. In the nuclear age existence is possible only on terms of conditional viability. The loss of unconditional viability of nation-states as a result of the development of nuclear weapons has produced a grave crisis in the threat systems of international relations.

Bullough, Vern L. (Institute for Cross-Cultural Studies) The Roman Empire vs. Persia, 363-502: A Study of Successful Deterrence (Article, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. VII, 1963)

Dinerstein, Herbert S. (RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California) Soviet Goals and Military Force (Article, Orbis, Vol. IV, No. 4, Winter 1962). Seeks to examine the Soviet use of military power for political purposes. Suggests that weaponry, both nuclear and conventional, will continue to play an important role in international relations, even though it may be claimed that nuclear weapons have "cancelled themselves out."

Falk, Richard A. (Princeton University) Law, Morality, and War in the Contemporary World (Book, Praeger, 1963)

Gareau, Frederick H., ed. (University of Mississippi) The Balance of Power and Nuclear Deterrence (Book, Houghton Mifflin, 1962). A series of essays dealing with the doctrine of the balance of power, as well as the doctrine of nuclear deterrence. The book presents the rich variety of opinion surrounding the two theories.

Garthoff, Raymond L. (U.S. Department of State) Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age (Book, Praeger, rev. ed., 1962). Study of the Soviet strategic concepts developed under the influence of the thermonuclear era, with projections into 1970 and beyond. Soviet strategy is developing and taking full advantage of new scientific, technological, and weapons potentialities. The new political strategic concept of deterrence plus pressure is accompanied by military preparation for any kind of war. This requires a large and balanced military establishment, which the Soviets maintain.

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